

THE CRISIS OF THE *OIKOUMENE*

STUDIES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

*Editorial Board under the auspices of the
Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York*

Elizabeth M. Tyler (University of York)
Julian D. Richards (University of York)
Ross Balzaretti (University of Nottingham)

VOLUME #14

THE CRISIS OF THE *OIKOUMENE*:
The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity
in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean

Edited by

Celia Chazelle and Catherine Cubitt

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

The crisis of the Oikoumene : the Three Chapters and the failed quest for unity in the sixth-century Mediterranean

1. Jesus Christ – History of doctrines – Middle Ages, 600-1500 2. Three chapters (Christological controversy) 3. Church history – 6th century 4. Mediterranean Region – Religion

I. Chazelle, Celia Martin II. Cubitt, Catherine

232'.09021

ISBN-13: 9782503515205

© 2007, **Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium**

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

D/2007/0095/55

ISBN: 978-2-503-51520-5

Printed in the E.U. on acid-free paper

CONTENTS

List of Maps and Figures	vii
Preface	ix
List of Abbreviations	xi
Introduction	1
ROBERT A. MARKUS AND CLAIRE SOTINEL	
Part I: The Crisis in the Eastern and Southern Mediterranean	
The Three Chapters Controversy and the Council of Chalcedon	17
RICHARD M. PRICE	
L'Afrique reconquise et les Trois Chapitres	39
YVES MODÉLAN	
Part II: Italy and the Papacy	
The Three Chapters and the Transformations of Italy	85
CLAIRE SOTINEL	
Much Ado About Nothing: Gregory the Great's Apology to the Istrians	121
CAROLE STRAW	

The Three Chapters Controversy and the Biblical Diagrams of Cassiodorus's Codex Grandior and <i>Institutions</i> CELIA CHAZELLE	161
---	-----

Part III: The Frankish and Lombardic Response

Il regno longobardo in Italia e i Tre Capitoli CLAUDIO AZZARA	209
The Franks and Papal Theology, 550–660 IAN WOOD	223
Heresy in Secundus and Paul the Deacon WALTER POHL	243
Epilogue ROBERT A. MARKUS AND CLAIRE SOTINEL	265
Select Bibliography	279
Index	295

MAPS AND FIGURES

Map 1, p. 16. The Mediterranean

Map 2, p. 84. Italy

Map 3, p. 208. Western Europe

Figure 1, p. 168. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1, fols 2/II^v–7/III^r, Codex Amiatinus, plan of the Tabernacle.

Figure 2, p. 171. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1, fol. 5/VI^r, Codex Amiatinus, organization of scripture according to Jerome (the Vulgate).

Figure 3, p. 172. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1, fol. 8^r, Codex Amiatinus, organization of scripture according to Augustine.

Figure 4, p. 173. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1, fol. 6/VII^r, Codex Amiatinus, organization of scripture according to Pope Hilarus and Epiphanius.

Figure 5, p. 174. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1, fol. 3/IV^r, Codex Amiatinus, prologue.

Figure 6, p. 176. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fol. 14^r, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* I, chapter 12, organization of scripture according to Jerome.

Figure 7, p. 177. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fol. 15^r, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* I, chapter 13, organization of scripture according to Augustine.

Figure 8, p. 178. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fol. 15^v, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* I, chapter 14, organization of scripture according to the Septuagint.

Figure 9, p. 179. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fol. 41^v, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* II, chapter 2. 11, diagram of rhetoric.

Figure 10, p. 180. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fol. 44^r, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* II, chapter 3. 8, diagram of the *Isagoge*.

Figure 11, p. 183. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fol. 45^r, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* II, chapter 3. 9, diagram of the *Categories*.

Plate 1, p. 181. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 660, fol. 92^r, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* I, chapter 12, organization of scripture according to Jerome.

PREFACE

This volume of essays has grown out of the conference held at the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York on 25 May 2002, organized by Katy Cubitt, Tom Brown, and Celia Chazelle. The idea for the project had its genesis in a chance meeting at the Early Medieval Dinner that Deborah Deliyannis (Indiana University) hosted in May 2001 at the International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, Michigan. Seated at the same table, Tom and Celia discovered that their research on other topics had brought them both to investigate, from different yet converging viewpoints, the controversy over the Three Chapters. Their discussion during dinner continued via email after they left Kalamazoo, and the exchange led Tom to propose the initiative of the 2002 conference and a collection of essays that would provide a much-needed modern overview and reassessment of the controversy's impact. This fit well with Katy's interests in the impact of the ecumenical councils in the West, and it was agreed that York should host the conference. Tom was the project's progenitor and prime mover. Thanks to his inspiration, scholarly guidance, and hard work a distinguished international team of historians, with expertise in different areas of study, was organized first at the University of York and now in print. Unfortunately, professional and personal commitments prevented Tom from sharing in the editing of the volume, but the editors are deeply indebted to him for his vision and initiative.

As with all such team ventures, we owe our gratitude to many others, as well, who have helped us over the last few years. First, we have a very special debt to Robert Markus and Claire Sotinel, both of whom have been the guardian angels of the volume, placing their matchless knowledge of the controversy and late antiquity at our disposal. Without their willingness to share their learning so generously, this book could not have been produced. In addition, we would like

to thank Mildred Budny and Leslie French of the Research Group on Manuscript Evidence for designing the conference poster, and Louise Harrison and the Centre of Medieval Studies for their assistance and support in organizing the conference at York. We are very appreciative, as well, to the volume's contributors for their helpfulness and efficiency in responding to our editorial comments and queries, and to Tsering W. Shawa of Princeton University for his careful preparation of the maps. Despite innumerable delays, Elizabeth Tyler and Simon Forde have shown remarkable good humour and patience in guiding the collection into print; and Deborah A. Oosterhouse, the copyeditor, has smoothed the path to publication. The College of New Jersey gave Celia Chazelle welcome release time from teaching over the several years of work on this project, and a sabbatical leave in 2005–2006. The year was spent in the stimulating environment of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, where she held a Visitorship and an NEH Fellowship. Her thanks go, as well, to the Institute and the NEH for these opportunities.

Finally, our families have patiently shared with us both the pains and the pleasures of the editorial process. To them, too, we offer our deep appreciation.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ACO</i>	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum iussu atque mandato Societatis Scientiarum Argentoratensis</i> , ed. by Eduard Schwartz, cont. by Johannes Straub (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1914–84)
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
<i>AA</i>	<i>Auctores antiquissimi</i>
<i>Conc.</i>	<i>Concilia</i>
<i>Epp</i>	<i>Epistolae</i>
<i>SrG</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi</i>
<i>SrLI</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX</i>
<i>SrM</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
ST	Studi e Testi
Settimane di Studio	Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo

INTRODUCTION

Robert A. Markus and Claire Sotinel

The sixth-century controversy over the 'Three Chapters', as it has become known, provoked one of the most serious and long-lasting schisms of the early Middle Ages. The fault lines it exposed ran not only between East and West, between the Empire and the papacy, but also between the developing churches and monarchies of western Europe and the Roman church. Its impact was much the most serious in western Europe. This is the main subject of this book.

The controversy arose, paradoxically, from Justinian's project to restore imperial unity. Re-establishing religious unity and orthodoxy had been a part of his overarching plan to restore the Empire.¹ The constitution *Deo auctore* of December 530 launched the enterprise of the Digest, the first section of Justinian's famous codification of Roman law; but it was also a public declaration of the Emperor's faith in the huge undertaking of which it was to be a part.² This project has been described as a step towards a complete design, which would have encompassed the Empire's territorial integrity, along with its religious reunification, while its newly codified law was to be 'the connective tissue of the entire social

¹ With the kind permission of the publisher, we have made use, both in this Introduction and in the Epilogue, of Robert A. Markus, 'Justinian's Ecclesiastical Politics and the Western Church', in his *Sacred and Secular: Studies on Augustine and Latin Christianity*, Variorum Reprints (London: Variorum, 1994), VII; originally published in Italian in *Il mondo del diritto nell'epoca giustinianea: caratteri e problematiche*, ed. by Gian Gualberto Archi, Biblioteca di 'Felix Ravenna', 2 (Ravenna: Mario Lapucci / Edizioni del girasole, 1985), pp. 113–24.

² *Codex Iustinianus*, I, 17. 2, in *Corpus Juris Civilis*, ed. by Paul Krueger, Theodor Mommsen, and others, vol. II (Berlin: Weidmann, 1906), pp. 70–74. Henceforth cited as *Cod. Iust.* from this edition.

organization'.³ Justinian's plans put into action something that had never been far from his predecessors' aspirations. The publication of the Code in 529/30 and rapid success in the reconquest of North Africa from the Vandals began to transform these dreams into expectations. In 533 the Vandal War seemed to receive the seal of divine approval with a speedy and decisive victory which, according to the imperial legislator, surpassed all God's accomplishments in this world.⁴ In the 540s the expectations of 530 collapsed.

Unlike the Vandal War, the Gothic War failed to have quick success, continuing until the last years of Justinian's reign. The Persian War flared up again in the 540s. Even in Africa the government failed to establish real security and lasting peace. Many provinces of the Empire were afflicted by a plague, which recurred periodically from 542/43 onwards. Demographic, social, and economic change brought their own problems. The search for religious unification also proved elusive. In such conditions of instability, the controversy over the Three Chapters introduced a further set of serious difficulties, which posed a threat to the realization of the Emperor's objectives.

The studies gathered in this book seek to assess the impact of the Three Chapters controversy and the subsequent schism in the West on Justinian's project for imperial reunification and, with it, on the political and religious history of late antique and early medieval western Europe and North Africa. The roots of the controversy lie in the unfinished business left to the Church by the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451). The christological conflicts were settled by the formulations adopted by the council, but doubts, divergent interpretations of the conciliar decisions, and outright opposition to Chalcedon were not laid to rest. In the last quarter of the fifth century the passionate divisions over Chalcedon surfaced again and prompted repeated imperial intervention intended to reconcile the parties and to safeguard peace, if necessary, by resorting to ambiguity. The bishops of the Roman see, who regarded themselves as guardians of Chalcedonian orthodoxy, often found themselves in conflict with eastern bishops, especially those of Alexandria, where the legacy of the fifth-century Archbishop

³ Gian Gualberto Archi, 'Il diritto nell'azione politica di Giustiniano', in *Diritto e potere nella storia europea: atti in onore di Bruno Paradisi*, Quarto Congresso internazionale della Società italiana di storia del diritto, 2 vols (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1982), I, 107–24 (p. 124).

⁴ *Cod. Iust.*, I, 27. 1, p. 77.

and theologian Cyril still carried much weight, and of Constantinople, where the patriarchs were especially exposed to imperial pressure.⁵

The chequered history of imperial intervention, sometimes attempting compromise, sometimes favouring the eastern party of the Monophysites, the proponents of a Christological viewpoint that made them generally antipathetic towards Chalcedon, came to a definitive end in the year 518, when Justin I succeeded Emperor Anastasius. Justin and his nephew Justinian, who was closely associated with his reign from the beginning, were Latin-speaking Illyrians; their sympathies were firmly aligned with the Roman see, and their faith uncompromisingly Chalcedonian. The imperial initiatives to effect a rapprochement with Rome were widely popular in many circles. Equally, they met determined resistance in others, especially among the followers of the deposed Bishop of Antioch, Severus, and his followers. The Egyptian church was solid in its opposition. Justinian's empress, Theodora, was rumoured to be in sympathy with their views.

In 532 Justinian called together representatives of the Chalcedonian and Monophysite parties for a discussion of the theological issues between them. Among the issues raised were the endorsement of Theodore of Mopsuestia along with the reception of some writings of Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa by the Council of Chalcedon. By the Monophysites these — the 'Three Chapters' as they became known — were seen as fatal blemishes on the council's orthodoxy. The Emperor's efforts to bring about agreement through compromise focussed on these 'Three Chapters'. If Chalcedon were separated from approval of these persons and writings of dubious reputation, perhaps all might rally around the council? In 543 or 544 Justinian issued an edict, which has survived in fragments, condemning them. But for supporters of Chalcedon this amounted to a betrayal of the council which had received them. Thus was launched the controversy which goes by their name.

There was some opposition in the churches of the East. The western churches, including the Roman see and its representatives in Constantinople, were united in opposition. The imperial court went to great lengths to win over or stifle resistance. It is not clear whether the Pope, Vigilius, was abducted from Rome, in 545, at the time of the Gothic siege by the armies under Totila or whether — as

⁵ For the Christological questions, see Aloys Grillmeier and Theresia Hainthaler, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. II.2: *The Church of Constantinople in the Sixth Century*, trans. by John Cawte and Pauline Allen (London: Mowbray, 1995), esp. pp. 411–81; and on various theological themes, the essays in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Aloys Grillmeier and Heinrich Bacht, 3 vols (Würzburg: Echter, 1951–54).

is more probable — he went of his own volition.⁶ At any rate, he spent almost two years in Sicily and by 547 he was in Constantinople, where he was to remain during all the manoeuvring preparatory to the Fifth Ecumenical Council, the second Council of Constantinople, eventually held in 553, during it, and in its immediate aftermath, until 554. Surrounded by other westerners, including some Roman clergy firmly opposed to the imperial policy seeking to strengthen his resolve, he was also under constant pressure from the imperial court. In 548 the Pope issued a decree in which he attempted conciliation. It was not well received in western circles.

Opposition to the condemnation of the Three Chapters in the West was almost solid. In North Africa, especially, fidelity to the received tradition, the integrity of conciliar decisions, and the Church's freedom from imperial meddling with its faith became the crucial issues. The case against the condemnation of the Three Chapters was powerfully stated at the very start of the controversy by the deacon from Carthage, Ferrandus, soon to be followed by Bishop Facundus of Hermiane, and the Roman deacon Pelagius. At its centre was the deeply held objection to innovating on a received tradition of orthodoxy and to meddling with what had been decided by a council of the Church, at Chalcedon. In 550 a council of the African church excommunicated Pope Vigilius; the churches in Gaul and in Illyricum as well as Italy expressed unease; in 549 the primate of the province of Illyricum was actually deposed by his provincial council for advocating the condemnation. The fragmentary and confused documentation suggests that Vigilius, responding to the widely felt disquiet, rallied to resist — discreetly — a new edict on the subject issued by the Emperor in 551. The Pope's somewhat indecisive resistance appears to have been strengthened by the forcible maltreatment at the hands of the imperial government to which he was now exposed, and in 552 he published an encyclical letter excommunicating the principal supporters of the imperial condemnation of the Three Chapters. After various initiatives, from both sides, Justinian brought the proceedings to a conclusion by calling a council in Constantinople in May 553.

The Pope refused to participate and issued on his own authority a *Constitutum de tribus capitulis* (his *First Constitutum*) as a definitive statement by the apostolic see. The council continued to meet, and in its eighth and final session, ignoring

⁶ On Vigilius and the controversy, see Claire Sotinel, 'Autorité pontificale et pouvoir impérial sous le règne de Justinien: le pape Vigile', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, 104 (1992), 439–63; Sotinel, 'Vigilio', in *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, 3 vols (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 2000), I, 512–28.

the papal objections, enacted a series of anathemas based on a statement of faith Justinian had issued in 552. The aged Pope, under heavy pressure, gave way to the imperial demand to endorse the council's condemnation of the Three Chapters. Vigilius's submission secured him the return to Rome, but this was prevented by his death en route, in Sicily (555). To succeed him the Emperor chose his deacon, Pelagius, the author of a ferocious pamphlet against the condemnation of the Three Chapters, who was now ready to realign himself with the imperial policy and was to become a staunch upholder of the settlement of 553.

'No pope had ever assumed his office in circumstances so unfavourable', was the verdict of the great historian of the papacy, Erich Caspar.⁷ Pope Pelagius I (556–59) was suspect on several counts: as a supporter of the hated condemnation, as having been implicated in Vigilius's death, and as the Emperor's nominee. Even within his own metropolitan province of Rome, Pelagius was received with less than enthusiasm. In Italy the see of Ravenna was Rome's staunchest ally, though here, too, dissent was not entirely eradicated. Ravenna was already the principal centre of imperial power and influence in Italy and was to become the seat of the exarch at the end of the century. The relations of the see of Ravenna with Rome were complicated by the aspirations of its bishops and its clergy, and by local circumstances.

The churches of southern Italy were traditionally within the papal sphere of influence, and despite initial suspicion, the popes succeeded in keeping it intact. In the North, however, the great sees of Milan and Aquileia could count on ancient status and prestige to assert a more independent stand. The schism between the churches of Rome and Aquileia, including the province of Venetia et Histria, was the most long-lasting and deep-seated, not healed until almost the end of the seventh century. Opposition also remained strong in Milan, the other great northern church and a centre of resistance to Justinian's religious policy since the early years leading up to the council. During the Lombard conquest beginning in 568 the church of Milan split into two communities, one remaining in Milan, within Lombard territory, the other taking refuge in the coastal town of Genoa. The former, along with some of its suffragan sees, remained in schism; the latter, more exposed to Roman influence, fell into line fairly rapidly.

Throughout the Three Chapters controversy the see of Rome represented one of the three rival ecclesiologies brought into play in the controversy: the papal, Rome-centred conception, faced with the imperial theology espoused by

⁷ *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft*, 2 vols (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1930–33), II, 288.

Justinian, and with the more conciliar-oriented ecclesiology of the North African church. It was, however, not only the conflict of three rival conceptions of ecclesiastical authority that was the issue at stake, but also the realignment in the position of the Roman see within the developing and still fluid ecclesiastical geography of Italy, and in relation to the schismatic churches of the North and beyond them of western Europe. Gregory the Great's correspondence at the end of the sixth century provides a rich quarry of evidence for the way the Roman see dealt with the schismatic churches, for its attempts to enlist imperial support, and for the diplomatic relations involved, especially with the Lombard rulers. The relations between the schismatic churches of the North and the Lombard kingdom have long been a subject of lively debate.

The Italian churches may have been more directly and more deeply affected by the schism than any other province; but doubts were not fully laid to rest elsewhere. Suspicions about Roman orthodoxy lingered in circles around Columbanus, the Irish monk whose foundations in Gaul and Italy were to play an important part in monastic history, and in the Gallic church where misgivings still survived in Queen Brunhild's and Gregory the Great's time. North Africa had been the area where Justinian's attempts to impose his will on the Church met their strongest challenge. From the very start of the controversy Africans had taken the lead in the opposition to the Emperor. African churchmen kept up strong opposition, and resistance in Africa had to be put down by forcible means, depositions, exile, even bloodshed. The most forcible theological statement of the case was made in the works of Facundus, Bishop of Hermiane. The African churches looked back on an ancient and deep-seated tradition of autonomy in the face of the Roman church, a tradition which continued to play an important part as late as Gregory the Great's time and beyond.

In the eastern churches the Fifth Ecumenical Council of 553 (Constantinople II) opened the doors to a growing influence of Neo-Chalcedonian theology, that is, of an acceptance of Chalcedon with a strong tinge of the theology to be found in Cyril of Alexandria, especially in his *Twelve Chapters or Anathemas*. In the West, where the condemnation of the Three Chapters was accepted, notably in Rome and the Italian churches in communion with Rome, ambivalence or, if possible, silence was the commonest policy. The case of Cassiodorus, except for being uncommonly well informed, was typical. His attitude had been ambivalent throughout the controversy. He tried to play a mediating role in Constantinople in the years just preceding the council. His own christology was rigorously Chalcedonian, but he never discussed the issue of the Three Chapters, and in his formal list of councils accepted as ecumenical he does not mention the Fifth Council,

closing it with a eulogy of Chalcedon. Tact and loyalty towards Pope Vigilius and the Emperor will have played their part, but this strongly suggests that he had reservations about the council and its decisions.⁸

Initially, for good and obvious reasons, the papal preference was also to suppress the issue when possible, but when debate was unavoidable, Pelagius I and his successors were driven to profess fidelity to Chalcedon and to defend Constantinople as having done nothing to subvert or change it, thus giving no occasion to schism. In his correspondence with bishops in Gaul and in Italy Pelagius I follows this line. His very natural economy with the truth contrasts with the candid and forthright acknowledgement by Gregory the Great, some forty years later. The first open admission of a change of mind by the papacy was made by Gregory, writing on behalf of Pope Pelagius II. In a long letter written to the Istrian bishops in justification of the papacy's acceptance of the condemnation, Pelagius/Gregory invoked the authority of Leo I to sanction the principle that of conciliar decisions only those concerning faith are irrevocable and not subject to revision.⁹ On the special matter of the Three Chapters a new judgement could be reached in the light of improved knowledge; the faith of Chalcedon remained untouched. This was very much in line with Gregory's instinct to state what he believed. He would on occasion even take the initiative in asserting spontaneously his support for the condemnation, as he did for instance when writing to the patriarchs of Antioch and of Alexandria, both of them his friends (and incidentally also leading Neo-Chalcedonian theologians), when he went gratuitously out of his way to rebuke them for placing too high a value on the *Historia tripartita* (which he took to be the work of Sozomen) for its praise — reprehensible in Gregory's view — of Theodore of Mopsuestia as *totius doctor ecclesiae* ('teacher of the entire Church').¹⁰ Similarly, writing to the Lombard queen Theodelinda, Gregory's instinctive

⁸ *Cassiodori senatoris Institutiones*, I, 11, ed. by R. A. B. Mynors, corrected repr. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 35–36; see Celia Chazelle, 'The Three Chapters Controversy and the Biblical Diagrams of Cassiodorus's Codex Grandior and *Institutiones*', in this volume.

⁹ *Ep. 3, Epistolae Pelagii Iunioris Papae ad episcopos Histriae*, in *Gregorii I papae Registrum epistolarum*, vol. II: *Libri VIII–XIV*, ed. by Paul Ewald and Ludo M. Hartmann, MGH, *Epp*, 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), *Appendix*, III, pp. 442–67 (pp. 451–54). On it, see Hermann Josef Sieben, *Die Konzilsidee der alten Kirche* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1979), pp. 300–05. See in this volume Carole Straw, 'Much Ado About Nothing: Gregory the Great's Apology to the Istrians'.

¹⁰ Gregory, *Ep. VII, 31, Registrum epistolarum*, ed. by Dag Norberg, 2 vols, CCL, 140–140A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), I, 492–95. Gregory's letters are henceforth cited from this edition unless otherwise indicated.

honesty led him to blurt out the whole truth, until advised about the diplomatic risks of doing so.¹¹

Embarrassment about the Fifth Council discouraged explicit defence of the condemnation of the Three Chapters, at any rate before the letter written by Gregory on behalf of Pelagius II (above). By contrast, the only narrative sources that survive from the sixth century come from defenders of the Three Chapters. Liberatus of Carthage mentions the controversy at the very end of his *Breviarum*, accusing Pope Vigilius of prevarication and the deacon Pelagius of having introduced the evil of division in the Church. Another African, Victor of Tonnenna wrote his Chronicle while in exile in punishment for having defended the Three Chapters, years after the council. Not only their accounts, but the theological writings in defence of the Three Chapters by Facundus of Hermiane and Pelagius as a deacon were never lost or forgotten. Even the Roman *Liber Pontificalis* has preserved many traces of the former position of the papacy on the subject. A letter written in northern Italy in 552, strongly in favour of the Three Chapters and of Pope Vigilius, was transmitted in a Gallic collection and gives an unusual view of the events.¹²

The way the Fifth Ecumenical Council entered both the canons of ecumenical councils and chronicles is part of the story of a growing misunderstanding between the East and the West. The decisions of the council were widely advertised in the East,¹³ and the acts of the council were kept in the imperial archives. Synoptic accounts and short treatises, many of them anonymous, circulated widely.¹⁴ A Latin version of the decisions translated probably in Constantinople was in use in the Roman archives (Pelagius II, Gregory). At the Lateran Council of 649, the

¹¹ See Gregory, *Epp.* IV, 4, 37, pp. 220–21, 257–59. Gregory had of course professed his faith in similar terms in his synodical letter, *Ep.* I, 24, pp. 22–32.

¹² *Ep.* 4, *Epistolae aevi Merowingici collectae*, ed. by Wilhelm Gundlach, *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, vol. 1, ed. by Wilhelm Gundlach, Ernst Dümmler, and others MGH, *Epp.* 3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), pp. 438–42. Also published as *Epistula clericorum Mediolanensium ad legatos Francorum*, in *Vigiliusbriefe*, ed. by Eduard Schwartz, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Abt. 1940, 2 (Munich: Die Akademie, 1940), pp. 18–25. See Claire Sotinel, ‘The Three Chapters and the Transformations of Italy’, in this volume.

¹³ *Chronicon Paschale*, AD 284–628, trans. with notes and intro. by Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), pp. xxvi, 132–34.

¹⁴ On synoptic accounts, see Joseph Munitiz, ‘Synoptic Greek Accounts of the Seventh Council’, *Revue des études byzantines*, 32 (1974), 147–86, and Sieben, *Konzilsidee*, pp. 344–77.

Greek and Latin versions were confronted and accusations of falsification were made by both sides.¹⁵

In the orthodox churches of the East the Fifth Ecumenical Council was seen in the context of the Origenist controversy and as part of Justinian's dealing with it. This is the perspective, for example, from which the sixth-century historian Evagrius treats the council.¹⁶ The Greek text of Constantinople II is lost, but parts are preserved in variant forms by later Byzantine writers (George the Monk in the ninth century, George Cedrenus in the eleventh century). The Byzantine chroniclers, on the other hand, show on the whole very little interest in the council. Those who mention it, the sixth-century chronicler John Malalas,¹⁷ the *Chronicon Paschale*,¹⁸ and the ninth-century chronicler Theophanes Confessor,¹⁹ as well as some later writers (including those who transmitted parts of the acts), do so without considering its consequences in the western churches. Although the condemnation of the Three Chapters is often mentioned, the interpretation within the context of Origenism has remained the dominant thread in Byzantine historiography of the council. The seventh-century writer on heresies George the Hieromonk presents the council as aimed at Origenism and gives the full text of its anathemas against the heresy. In contrast, this aspect of the council was entirely forgotten in the West.

In the West, writings defending the Three Chapters were transmitted along with orthodox texts. Facundus was transmitted with the Latin version of the acts of Chalcedon and the acts of the Fifth Council, Liberatus of Carthage with the *Collectio Dionysiana*, and Victor of Tunnena (= Tonnenna) with Isidore's *Chronicle*; this situation puzzled many medieval scribes and not a few modern historians. From the end of the sixth century onwards, the Aquileian schism generated its own history, which influenced the early history of Venice. The historian of the Lombards, Paul the Deacon, at the end of the eighth century, is interesting in that his account is evidently dependent on a source in sympathy with the Istrian

¹⁵ See now Johannes Straub, 'Praefatio', in *ACO*, IV.1, pp. v–xxxvii. We thank Evangelos Chrysos for helpful comments in this connection.

¹⁶ *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*, IV, 38, trans. with an intro. by Michael Whitby (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 242–49.

¹⁷ *Chronographia*, 18, PG, 97, cols 65–718 (col. 716)

¹⁸ *Chronicon Paschale*, pp. 132–34.

¹⁹ *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813*, trans. with an intro. and commentary by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, with the assistance of Geoffrey Greatrex (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 334 (AM 6045, AD 552/53).

version of the schism.²⁰ The first Venetian historians, of the tenth/eleventh and later centuries, succeeded in reconciling the position of Venice as religious heir of Aquileia with scrupulous orthodoxy by rewriting the history of the schism.²¹ Elsewhere, however, medieval Latin chroniclers and historians, following the pattern set by the sixth-century Cassiodorus and the seventh-century Isidore of Seville,²² showed little interest in the ecumenical councils after the first four. Even Otto of Freising, who refers to Gregory the Great's synodical letter, only mentions the Fifth Ecumenical Council in passing.²³ The acts of councils were of less interest to canonists than the papal letters written by Pelagius I in connection with the Aquileian schism.

Such an unusual transmission of sources prevented the Three Chapters becoming a focus for controversy in later centuries and made of the whole affair an intricate jigsaw with too many missing pieces. The situation changed in the seventeenth century, when the controversies about ecclesiastical history stimulated the emergence of scholarly utilization of the narrative as well as the canonical sources in the construction of detailed accounts. Thus in his answer to the Magdeburg Centuriators, in the late sixteenth century, the Catholic historian Cesare Baronio wrote a very full and sometimes embarrassed reconstruction based on the narrative and canonical sources available to him.²⁴ His assessment comes from a sincere

²⁰ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, III, 26, ed. by Ludwig Bethmann and Georg Waitz, MGH, *SrLI* (Hannover: Hahn, 1878), pp. 105–07. On this, see below and Walter Pohl, 'Heresy in Secundus and Paul the Deacon', in this volume.

²¹ *Cronache veneziane antichissime*, I, ed. by Giovanni Monticolo, Fonti per la storia d'Italia pub. dall' Istituto storico italiano. Scrittori, secoli X–XI (Rome: Forzani, 1890); Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta* (aa. 46–1280 d.C.), ed. by Ester Pastorello, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 12.1 (Bologna: Zanchelli, 1938).

²² Isidore, *Etymologiae*, VI, 16. 3–10, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, ed. by Wallace Martin Lindsay, *Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911; repr. 1957), vol. I, unnumbered pages; quoted e.g. by Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon de studio legendi*, IV, 12, ed. by Charles Henry Buttner, *Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin*, 10 (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1939), pp. 85–88. On Cassiodorus, see Chazelle, 'The Three Chapters Controversy and the Biblical Diagrams', in this volume.

²³ Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, IV, 26, ed. by Adolf Hofmeister, MGH, *SrG*, 45 (Hannover: Hahn, 1912), pp. 216–17, refers to the first four councils which Gregory *velut III^{or} evangelia venerari testatur* (perhaps referring to Gregory's synodical letter, in which he goes on to profess his adherence to Constantinople II); in V, 4 (pp. 233–36) Otto does, however, mention Pope Vigilius, noting that the Fifth Ecumenical Council was held in his time in Constantinople.

²⁴ Caesar Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, 7 (*ad. ann. 540–554*), (originally published Rome, 1596).

sympathy for the position of the defenders of the Three Chapters and from the difficulty of justifying Vigilius's changes of mind. Other and more critically acute scholars such as the Jesuit Jean Garnier and Cardinal Henrico de Noris followed him.²⁵ Although the Fifth Ecumenical Council was largely bypassed by Reformation polemic, the ambiguous attitude of Pope Vigilius inspired some fierce debates until the late nineteenth century.²⁶ Definitive modern studies begin with Eduard Schwartz's edition of the documents, completed by Johannes Straub,²⁷ and the work of Louis Duchesne.²⁸ The western sympathy for the cause of Theodore of Mopsuestia experienced an unexpected renewal in French theology at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, inspiring new studies of the subject (Amann,²⁹ Diekamp,³⁰ Devréese³¹), but until now the Three Chapters controversy and schisms have never been the object of a general historical study.

This book is not an exhaustive examination of all aspects of the quarrel, but it offers a synoptic view of its impact, taking into account the variety of ways in

²⁵ Jean Garnier, *Dissertatio critica de quinta synodo generalis*, PG, 84, cols 455–548; Garnier, *Dissertatio ad Liberatum de quinta synodo et quae eam praecesserunt*, PL, 78, cols 1051–96; P. M. Henrico de Noris, *Historia Pelagiana; & Dissertatio de synodo V. æcumenica in qua Origini ac Theodori Mopsuesteni Pelagiani erroris auctorum iusta damnatio exponitur, et aquileiense schisma describitur* (Padua: Typis Petri Mariæ Frambotti, 1673).

²⁶ The most remarkable of early modern discussions is probably Richard Crakanthorpe, *Vigilius dormitans. Romes seer overseene. Or a treatise of the fift generall councill held at Constantinople, anno 553 under Justinian the Emperour. The Occasion being those Tria Capitula, which for many yeares troubled the whole Church. Wherein is proved that the popes Apostolicall Constitution and Definitive Sentence in Matter of Faith, was condemned as hereticall by the Synod. And the exceeding frauds of Cardinall Baronius and Binius are clearly discovered* (London, 1631; re-edited in 1637). In the aftermath of the first Vatican council and the debates over the pope's infallibility, Louis Duchesne ('Vigile et Pélage: Etude sur l'histoire de l'église romaine au milieu du VI^e siècle', *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 36 (1884), 369–439) prompted an angry answer by Dom François Chamard, 'Polémique – les papes du VI^e siècle et le second concile de Constantinople – réponse à M. l'Abbé Duchesne', *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 37 (1885), 540–94.

²⁷ *ACO*, IV, parts 1 and 2.

²⁸ Especially his *L'Église au VI^e siècle* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1925).

²⁹ Émile Amann, 'Trois-Chapitres', in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. by Alfred Vacant and others, 15 vols (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1903–50), xv.2, cols 1868–1924.

³⁰ Franz Diekamp, *Die origenistische Streitigkeit im sechsten Jahrhundert und das fünfte allgemeine Konzil* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1899).

³¹ *Pelagii diaconi ecclesiae Romanae in defensione trium capitulorum: texte latine du manuscrit aurelianensis 73 (70)*, ed. by Robert Devréese, ST, 57 (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 1932).

which it affected different areas. The two chapters of the first section discuss its significance in the eastern and southern Mediterranean. The opening essay by Richard Price, 'The Three Chapters Controversy and the Council of Chalcedon', examines the conflict's roots. After analysing the circumstances of the Council of Chalcedon and subsequent disagreements over its acts, Price shows how, although the Three Chapters controversy appeared to lose itself in tendentious interpretations of points of detail, it in fact rested on fundamental differences between East and West over the criteria of orthodoxy. The condemnation of the Three Chapters at the Fifth Ecumenical Council did not distort but rather clarified the doctrinal work of Chalcedon. Yves Modéran's study of the role of the North African church in the schism distinguishes three periods. In the first, before 550, with the memory of oppression under Arian rule still fresh in its memory, North African churchmen enjoyed freedom to debate the issue and to develop a theology in opposition to Justinian's intervention, while the government was preoccupied with dealing with Moorish rebellions. The opposition attitude became more radical, and in the run-up to the Council of 553 the resistance was met with severe repression by the imperial government. In the years following the council, the government exploited divisions within the African church, while fear of renewed Moorish attacks helped dissipate local resistance. Loyalty to the Empire that endured until the Monothelite crisis — involving a development on Monophysite Christology — prevented the schism from making a lasting mark on the African church.

Subsequent chapters examine different regions and individuals in Italy. In Part II, 'Italy and the Papacy', the first essay, by Claire Sotinel, considers the relations between secular political authorities, Roman bishops, and local Italian churches. She analyses the earliest Italian reactions to the condemnation of the Three Chapters, insisting on the unanimity of the opposition to Justinian's decision when it became known in the peninsula, on the limited extent of information available there and the confusion of interpretation during the long years of Pope Vigilius's absence from Rome (545–54). The opposition to the Chapters' condemnation, Sotinel explains, led to opposition to Pope Pelagius I, which in turn crystallized into a schism involving all the churches dependent on the metropolitan sees of Milan and Aquileia. In the years following the first Lombard conquests in Italy (568), the ecclesiastical provinces of Milan and Aquileia evolved in different ways.

The next chapter, by Carole Straw, looks at the letter written by Gregory the Great while a deacon under Pope Pelagius II, directed on the Pope's behalf to the bishops of Istria to justify the papacy's policy and recall them from schism. This document, Gregory's definitive statement of his view, expounds the rationale of the consistently 'minimalist' papal position: how the Council of Constantinople

(553) could be dismissed as having done nothing to affect the faith previously defined, notably at the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451). Straw investigates Gregory's use of the writings of Pope Leo I concerning the decisions at Chalcedon, to formulate grounds for a distinction between matters of faith defined by a council and decisions about particular persons and cases. In effect, the letter asks the Istrians to accept, on the word of the Pope, that the decision of the Fifth Ecumenical Council was coherent with that of the Fourth. The final chapter in Part II, by Celia Chazelle, turns to the enigma of the response to the schism by the long-lived scholar Cassiodorus. As a member of Vigilius's entourage in Constantinople *c.* 550, Cassiodorus played a role in the early stages of the controversy engendered by Justinian's policy. Chazelle reconstructs the biblical diagrams with their artistic decoration that Cassiodorus later included in his biblical pandect, the *Codex Grandior*, and his educational treatise, the *Institutions*. Analogies between this visual evidence, other diagrams designed by Cassiodorus, and textual expressions of his thought — including the scattered references in his writings to the first four ecumenical councils — are brought to bear to explore the intellectual underpinnings of his seeming ambivalence about the Chapters' condemnation.

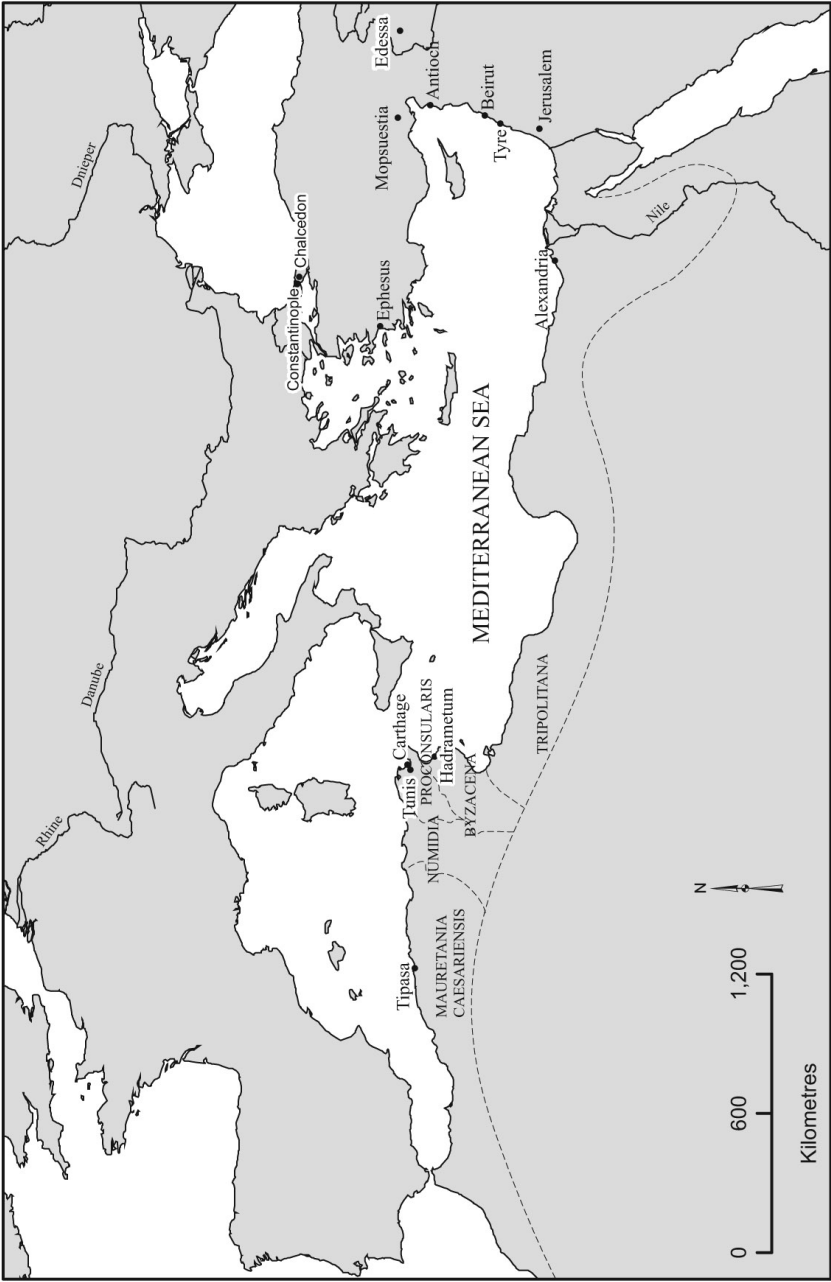
The three chapters of the book's final section study the Merovingian and Lombardic channels through which Frankish bishops, and an ecclesiastic who worked for Charlemagne's court, learned about the schism. Claudio Azzara focuses on the schism in north-eastern Italy in the Lombard period, especially the role of the patriarch of Aquileia from the sixth century. He considers the attitude of clergy and people loyal to the Three Chapters towards both the Lombards and the Empire, putting the stress on the political reflexes of their religious and ecclesiastical position in a frontier area. The reasons that encouraged Lombard kings to favour the schismatic church and the general way the Lombard rulers dealt with religious matters are examined, together with the reciprocal influence of political dependence and ecclesiastical and religious behaviour in bringing about the division of the patriarchate of Aquileia. Ian Wood's chapter focuses on the controversy's impact in Francia. Gathering most of the little and scattered textual evidence relating to this issue, he suggests a new pattern for the exchange of theological knowledge: the Frankish churches received information not only directly from Rome, but also through contacts originating in northern Italy and the eastern Mediterranean. This helps account for the apparent inconsistency of references to the Three Chapters by Gallic bishops, and Wood concludes that the inability of Rome to control the dissemination of information played a key role in the breakdown of the unity of the *oikoumene*. Walter Pohl presents Paul the Deacon's ambiguous treatment of the Three Chapters controversy in the *Historia*

Langobardorum. The ambiguities are due not to Paul's incapacity to understand the issues, but to his use of the *Historiola* of Secundus of Trent, himself a schismatic but favouring reconciliation with Rome and, following Gregory the Great's policy, downplaying the schism's theological contents.

The fragmented nature of the sources, the complexity of the theological issues involved, and the far-reaching consequences of the controversy have meant that reconstructing its full impact has been difficult. Individual scholars have concentrated on particular aspects or moments in the history of the responses to the condemnation of the Three Chapters, but the controversy as a whole has remained something of a jigsaw, or rather perhaps a mosaic made up of partial studies. By bringing together a group of scholars of the early medieval world, initially in conference and now in print, we hope to have gone some way towards filling in the frame of this picture and demonstrating its unique importance in the history of the Christian church.

Part I

The Crisis in the Eastern and Southern Mediterranean



Map 1. The Mediterranean

THE THREE CHAPTERS CONTROVERSY AND THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON

Richard M. Price

The Three Chapters controversy had its origin in the ambiguity of the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon of 451. This fact would have shocked the Emperor Marcian who stage-managed the council and either contrived or dictated its most important decisions. On 13 March 452, in his second edict confirming the council, he wrote, 'Those things were religiously and faithfully decreed which are recognized to be the foundation of the venerable faith of the orthodox, in such a way that no future occasion for doubting was left to those wont to misrepresent the deity.'¹ Ambiguity can arise from the subsequent emergence of problems that were not foreseen, but it can also arise from conflicting aims when the original decisions were taken, as in the case before us: if the prime task of the council was to define the faith, this did not exhaust its agenda. Bishops Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa were reinstated, not in view of their theological opinions, but because their deposition at the second or 'Robber' Council of Ephesus of 449 had been tyrannous and uncanonical. But it was difficult to keep the two issues apart: critical observers interpreted the reinstatement of these controversial bishops as expressing approval of their theology, and therefore as implying that this theology provided a key to the meaning of the Definition. The Emperor Justinian, in a series of measures between 532 and 553, sought to undo the damage by condemning certain writings of Theodoret and Ibas, as well as the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the *éminence grise* whose theology had guided that of his successors in the school of Antioch, Theodoret and Ibas, as well as the long-condemned Nestorius; it was this that

¹ *ACO*, II.2, p. 115, lines 16–18.

constituted the ‘condemnation of the Three Chapters’. Justinian saw it as a way of protecting the Definition from misinterpretation and thereby strengthening its authority. But opinion in the West saw his measures as reversing the Chalcedonian decrees in favour of Theodoret and Ibas, and thereby undermining the authority of the council as a whole. The Three Chapters controversy was a tragic split in the Chalcedonian ranks that only strengthened the critics of Chalcedon whom Justinian had hoped to win over.

The Chalcedonian Definition

What was the purpose of the Definition? It confirmed the decree of the first Council of Ephesus of 431 (the Third Ecumenical Council), which had condemned Nestorius, and solemnly approved Cyril of Alexandria’s classic expression of his own position, his *Second Letter to Nestorius*. It paid equal respect to the *Formulary of Reunion*, a conciliatory Christological statement drawn up by the Antiochenes and accepted by Cyril of Alexandria in 433. Both Antiochenes and Alexandrians agreed that Christ is both God and man — God as the son or word of the Father, and man as the one who was born of Mary the virgin and died on the cross. The Antiochenes held that we should think of Christ as made up of two distinct components (the son of God and the son of Mary) in such a way that, while his manhood is so united to the Godhead as to share divine honours and represent God on earth, it preserves its own spontaneity and does not compromise the Godhead, which does not itself undergo the human experiences of birth, change, and death. Even though Nestorius insisted that the human nature is not a distinct second son of the Father, his aggressive statement of the Antiochene position was understood to imply the heresy of ‘two sons’ in Christ. In contrast, Cyril and the Alexandrian school claimed that the whole mystery of the ‘incarnation’ (the word ‘becoming flesh’ in the bold expression of the Gospel of John) consists in the fact that the Godhead has so united the manhood to itself that it is the Godhead who is one personal subject in Christ: his human experiences, although they involve no change in the divine nature itself, are still to be attributed to the divine word that made them his own.²

² For the theological debate, see Frances M. Young, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon* (London: SCM Press, 1983), pp. 199–284, which treats individually all the theologians mentioned here. For the sequence of events and the politics of the councils, see Henry Chadwick, *The Church in Ancient Society: From Galilee to Gregory the Great* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 515–627.

The Chalcedonian Definition condemned the heresy of Nestorius, with its supposed teaching of ‘two sons’ in Christ. But at the same time it had an additional heresy to address, and that was the error of Eutyches, an archimandrite of Constantinople, who had been condemned at the Synod of Constantinople of November 448 for refusing to affirm that Christ is of the same essence as us men in his manhood, or that he had two natures after the union — that is, that the Godhead and manhood of Christ are to be distinguished as two distinct entities, albeit united in the one Christ.³ Eutyches’ condemnation was reversed at the second Council of Ephesus of 449, which treated ‘two natures after the union’ as tantamount to the ‘two sons’ heresy attributed to Nestorius. In reaction to Ephesus II, and to affirm the full reality of Christ’s manhood, the Definition asserted the following: ‘[It is] one and the same Christ, son, lord, only-begotten [who is] acknowledged in two natures without confusion, change, division, or separation, the difference of the natures being in no way destroyed by the union, but rather the distinctive character of each nature being preserved and coming together to form one person and one hypostasis.’⁴ The formulation was chosen to satisfy the representatives of Pope Leo at the council, who demanded that the Definition should echo the stress in Leo’s famous Tome on the distinction between the two natures (Godhead and manhood) in Christ. In so doing it might seem to offend against the teaching of Cyril of Alexandria, who had always shied away from a formal assertion of two natures after the union, as dangerously reminiscent of the heresy of Nestorius; but the Definition took the sting out of the tail of this assertion by adding immediately, in language that echoed Pope Leo but was in fact closer to Cyril, that the natures, though distinct, ‘come together’ to form a single ‘hypostasis’ or existent entity: Godhead and manhood exist in Christ unconfused — the Godhead remaining immaterial and changeless, the manhood capable of change and suffering — but they form in Christ not two distinct beings who *share* a variety of honours and functions (as in Nestorius) but a single personal being, who possesses complete sets of both divine and human attributes. The language of two natures ‘coming together into (i.e. to form) one person and hypostasis’ did not mean that the one person and hypostasis was merely the product of the union, a compound produced by the conjunction of two independent elements: the language of ‘coming together’ arose from a mental analysis of the union, in which first the two constituents are conceived and then their union; Cyril used it constantly, while holding firmly that the union consisted in the pre-existent

³ *ACO*, II.1, pp. 142–45.

⁴ *ACO*, II.1, p. 325, lines 30–33.

divine hypostasis of the word uniting to himself a human nature. For Chalcedon as for Cyril, the one hypostasis was not a *product* but the *subject* of the union.⁵

The West understood the statement differently: the clause ‘the distinctive character of each nature being preserved and coming together into one person’ was actually a translation of a clause in Leo’s Tome (to which the phrase ‘and one hypostasis’ was added to make it more Cyrillian); for Leo, the ‘one person’ was indeed the result rather than the subject of the union, expressing the dependence of the work of redemption on a mediator in whom two natures act together, the flesh performing nothing without the word and the word nothing without the flesh.⁶ While for the eastern bishops the Definition, despite its assertion of two natures, expressed the Christology of Cyril, it was understood at Rome to canonize the Christology of Leo and his Tome. This fundamental divergence was the root of the Three Chapters controversy, in that, while the East was happy to improve on the work of Chalcedon in a Cyrillian direction, this looked to western observers like a derogation from the completeness of the Chalcedonian Definition, understood as a confirmation of western theology.

In all, the Definition, in its attempt to satisfy the Roman delegates while remaining faithful to Cyril, was ingenious but artificial. One can scarcely blame a brief formulation for being open to a variety of readings, but there was surely something defective in a definition whose true interpretation, even in the context of the Cyrillian tradition, required such nicety of exegesis.

Chalcedon and the School of Antioch

Since to many in the Greek East any talk of two natures in Christ sounded Nestorian, it was inevitable that the Chalcedonian Definition would at least

⁵ See Richard Norris, ‘Chalcedon Revisited: A Historical and Theological Reflection’, in *New Perspectives on Historical Theology: Essays in Memory of John Meyendorff*, ed. by Bradley Nassif (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996), pp. 140–58. The classic analysis remains André de Halleux, ‘La définition christologique à Chalcédoine’, *Revue théologique de Louvain*, 7 (1976), 3–23, 155–70, repr. in Halleux, *Patrologie et oecuménisme: Recueil d’études* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990), pp. 445–80. My position is more fully stated in *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, trans. with introduction and notes by Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, 2 vols, Translated Texts for Historians, 45 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), I, 56–75, ‘The Theology of Chalcedon’.

⁶ Basil Studer, ‘Una persona in Christo: Ein augustinisches Thema bei Leo dem Grossen’, *Augustinianum*, 25 (1985), 453–87 (esp. p. 454), and Robert V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon: A Historical and Doctrinal Survey* (London: SPCK, 1953), pp. 228–53 (esp. p. 250).

disappoint and often outrage those for whom anti-Nestorianism was identical with orthodoxy and the condemnation of Eutyches, and attendant rapprochement with the West, a mere sideshow. But there was always something strained in the argument that the Definition was Nestorian; the worst that could be said of it was that its moderate Cyrillianism was rather too comprehensive and could, with a little private interpretation, be accepted by theologians, such as Theodoret, with Nestorian leanings. It became a matter of importance to examine what stand the council had taken towards the members of the Antiochene school.

Theodore of Mopsuestia had died just before the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy in 428. He was easily the most creative of the Antiochene theologians, and Nestorianism could be described as Theodore's Christology with a polemical edge. In the mid-430s the orthodoxy of Theodore became a matter of dispute, with Cyril pressing for his condemnation and Theodoret of Cyrrhus defending him. The debate on his orthodoxy was inevitably inconclusive, but Cyril of Alexandria, Proclus of Constantinople, the Syrian bishops, and Emperor Theodosius II finally agreed that it would be improper to anathematize a bishop who had died in the peace of the Church.⁷ In the voluminous acts of Chalcedon Theodore receives mention only once, and that, incidentally, in the *Letter of Ibas to Mari the Persian*, to be discussed shortly.

Where, however, Chalcedon had to adopt a firm position was over those bishops who had been condemned and deposed at the Council of Ephesus of 449. The whole *raison d'être* for the Council of Chalcedon was the need to undo the work of Ephesus, principally in its condemnation of Bishop Flavian of Constantinople and acquittal of the archimandrite Eutyches, whom Flavian had condemned. Flavian, conveniently, was no longer alive; it was also a godsend that Domnus of Antioch had gone into retirement and was not pressing for reinstatement. But several of the other bishops who had been condemned along with them needed to be reinstated, and prominent among these were two vocal champions of Antiochene Christology, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa. Their condemnation in absentia was judged uncanonical. Chalcedon dealt with them as victims of injustice who deserved redress; it had no wish to examine the orthodoxy or otherwise of their theological opinions.

After Theodore's death, Theodoret of Cyrrhus was the leading Antiochene theologian. In defence of Nestorius and against Cyril of Alexandria's *Twelve Chapters* or *Anathemas*, an aggressive statement of Alexandrian Christology, he

⁷ Chadwick, *The Church in Ancient Society*, pp. 546–51; Charles-Joseph Hefele, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, vol. II.1 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1908), pp. 419–22.

wrote a series of polemical works;⁸ he came round to accepting Nestorius's condemnation after the accord between the rival factions in 433 but with obvious reluctance. He was deposed at the same Council of Ephesus of 449 which acquitted Eutyches, but allowed to return to his see on the accession of Marcian in the following year. Summoned by the Emperor to Chalcedon, he attended the First Session as a plaintiff and was only fully reinstated at the Eighth Session.⁹ He arrived with a dossier of documents with which he hoped to prove his orthodoxy, but the council fathers refused to listen to them. He tried to placate them by anathematizing 'Nestorius and Eutyches and everyone who affirms two sons', but they were not satisfied until he had anathematized Nestorius individually. The minutes are more concerned to preserve decorum than to be complete, but it is manifest that the bishops restored Theodoret only because they had no choice, now that the Council of Ephesus was discredited. The bishops treated him with open suspicion and accepted him back not through a judgement that his writings were orthodox, but as a suspected heretic who proved his repentance by anathematizing his former ally.

The case of Ibas of Edessa was similar. He too had been an enemy of Cyril of Alexandria and had been deposed at the Council of Ephesus of 449. His reinstatement after the discrediting of that council was as inevitable as Theodoret's, but the fathers of Chalcedon had no wish to smooth his path. They refused to restore him at the first session (the Ninth of the council) at which he presented his case.¹⁰ At the Tenth Session they allowed a reading of the minutes of a council held at Berytus (Beirut) in 449, which included most of the charges against him and contained the full text of his *Letter to Mari the Persian*, in which he had praised Theodore of Mopsuestia profusely and keenly criticized Cyril of Alexandria.¹¹

This letter, written soon after the Reunion of 433, gave a thoroughly tendentious account of recent developments. It accused the Council of Ephesus of 431 of condemning Nestorius uncanonically, and made no mention of the fact that the Syrian bishops had subsequently accepted his condemnation; it admitted that

⁸ These were his *Refutation of the Twelve Chapters or Anathemas of Cyril* and *Pentalogium*, five books critical of Cyril and the first Council of Ephesus, for which see Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, 4 vols (repr. Westminster, MD: Newman, 1983), III, 546. For a summary of Theodoret's criticisms of the *Twelve Chapters*, see Young, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon*, pp. 220–29.

⁹ For the Eighth Session (the Ninth in the Greek edition of the acts), see *ACO*, II.1, pp. 366–70.

¹⁰ For the Ninth Session (the Tenth in the Greek edition), see *ACO*, II.1, pp. 370–75.

¹¹ For the Tenth Session (the Eleventh in the Greek edition), see *ACO*, II.1, pp. 375–401; for the *Letter to Mari*, see pp. 391–93.

Nestorius had been imprudent in criticizing the Marian title *theotokos* and made himself thoroughly unpopular at Constantinople, but did not condemn him as a heretic. It accused the same council of having fallen into heresy in the approval it gave to Cyril's *Twelve Chapters*; in setting out the true doctrine of Christ in opposition to the Chapters, Ibas sounded like a Nestorian. The letter proceeded to express delight at the restoration of peace to the churches as a result of the acceptance of the *Formulary of Reunion*. This constituted a further attack on Cyril, since Ibas represented Cyril's acceptance of the *Formulary* as a recognition by him of the erroneousess of his own theology, in particular of the *Twelve Chapters*, and a capitulation to his opponents. To quote the words of the letter:

As for what are the words written by the most holy and God-beloved Archbishop John and the reply he received from Cyril, I have attached the very letters to this letter to your religiousness and sent them to your sacredness, so that when you read them you may discover, and inform all our brethren who love peace, that controversy has now ceased, the dividing wall of enmity has been demolished, and that those who lawlessly assailed the living and the dead are shamefaced, apologizing for their errors and teaching the opposite of their previous teaching; for no one now dares to say that there is one nature of Godhead and manhood, but they profess belief in the temple and the one who dwells in it, who is the one son Jesus Christ.¹²

In a word, Ibas exults that Cyril has seen the error of his ways. It could even be said — with slight, but not gross, exaggeration — that he compliments him, with malicious irony, on having become a Nestorian!

How did the fathers of Chalcedon react to this letter? The minutes, in the form in which they were available during the Three Chapters controversy and survive today, give no direct answer to the question. Instead, after the presentation by Ibas of a testimonial from his clergy relating to a different charge, the discussion as recorded moved on to the question of whether or not to consult the relevant section of the acts of the Council of Ephesus of 449. The Roman legates immediately protested that the proceedings of Ephesus were invalid and should not be read. This gained the assent of the other bishops, in what constituted an annulment of the decrees of that council, conditional upon imperial confirmation.¹³ It followed that the condemnation of Ibas at Ephesus was null and void, and the bishops had no choice but to reinstate him. They proceeded to acquit him of the

¹² *ACO*, II.1, p. 393, lines 16–25. The charge of assailing the dead relates to Cyril's attacks on Theodore of Mopsuestia.

¹³ *ACO*, II.1, pp. 397, line 15 – 398, line 19. Marcian gave his approval in his Third Edict confirming Chalcedon, of 6 July 452: *ACO*, II.3, pp. 348–49 (Latin), II.1, pp. 480–81 (Greek).

charge of heresy on the grounds that, since the composition of the *Letter to Mari*, he had proved his orthodoxy by anathematizing Nestorius and accepting both the Tome of Leo and the Chalcedonian Definition. Of the bishops who spoke in turn only two, the papal representative Paschasinus and Maximus, Bishop of Antioch, referred to the *Letter to Mari*, and both treated it leniently. Once Ibas had repeated his anathematization of Nestorius as a final proof of orthodoxy, the bishops restored him to his see.¹⁴

What is one to make of this episode? Most of the bishops admired Cyril immensely, accepted *cum animo* the full canonical status of the Council of 431 that Ibas had attacked, and treated the *Formulary of Reunion*, which was preserved in a letter of Cyril's, as an authentic expression of his own beliefs. They must have found the *Letter to Mari* acutely embarrassing; but they recognized that in the circumstances they had no option but to restore the impudent bishop to his see.

What implication did all this have for the interpretation of the Chalcedonian Definition? Those who attacked the Definition as a betrayal of Cyril were able to claim that the secret Nestorianism of the fathers of Chalcedon was revealed by their reinstatement of Theodoret and Ibas, whose anathematization of Nestorius at Chalcedon was doubtfully sincere.¹⁵ But a reading of the record would have shown that the fathers of Chalcedon reinstated them with reluctance, and did so because of the flawed character of their deposition in 449 and not because they had any wish to commend either their persons or their doctrines. The bearing of this on the Three Chapters controversy is obvious.

Zeno and Justinian

In the second half of the fifth century, on the grounds that Chalcedon had betrayed the theology of Cyril of Alexandria while pretending to respect it, opposition to the council grew rather than diminished. In 482 Emperor Zeno issued his famous *Henotikon*, which attempted to restore the peace by offering a Cyrillian Christology while ignoring the Chalcedonian Definition. What it had to say in relation to Chalcedon was breathtaking in its slightness:

¹⁴ *ACO*, II.1, p. 401, lines 9–17. The Latin version (*ACO*, II.3, p. 491, lines 7–8) preserves a probably more accurate version of what the bishops demanded of Ibas in the way of an anathema.

¹⁵ The anti-Chalcedonians used this argument, for example, at a colloquy in 531: *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. by Joannes Dominicus Mansi, 54 vols (Paris: H. Welter, 1901–27), VIII, col. 829.

Everyone who has held or holds any other opinion [than that of Nicea], either at the present or another time, whether at Chalcedon or at any synod whatsoever, we anathematize, and especially Nestorius and Eutyches and those who uphold their doctrines.¹⁶

Anti-Chalcedonian subscribers to the *Henotikon* read this cryptic statement as a condemnation of the fathers of Chalcedon in general, but it was no part of Zeno's policy to condemn the great council. Rather, the reference to those who had upheld heresy at Chalcedon points an indubitable if discrete finger at Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Ibas of Edessa, and their allies. Already a distinction is being made between the authentic teaching of Chalcedon and the doctrines associated with some of those who took part in the council.

What is only a hint in the *Henotikon* entered the full light of day in the policy of Emperor Justinian.¹⁷ The fathers of Chalcedon had been sincere in their profession of loyalty to Cyril of Alexandria, but in practice they accepted the authority of only two of his writings, the so-called synodical or canonical letters associated with the first Council of Ephesus — his *Second Letter to Nestorius* and his *Letter to John of Antioch*, which incorporated the *Formulary of Reunion*. To Cyril's synodical letters, the *Henotikon* added his *Twelve Chapters*. But it was Justinian who decided that the work of Chalcedon needed to be completed by a complete appropriation of Cyrillian Christology; the wedding of this theology to the text of the Chalcedonian Definition has been called 'Neo-Chalcedonianism' by historians of patristic thought.¹⁸ It found canonical expression in the anathemas issued as canons at the Fifth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople II) of 553.¹⁹ The sixth canon condemns a minimalist reading of Chalcedon's affirmation of Mary as *theotokos* according to the teaching of Theodore of Mopsuestia. The seventh canon insists, following Cyril verbatim, that, even though the two natures retain their

¹⁶ W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement: Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 361 (see p. 177, n. 4 for a listing of the sources for the text of the document).

¹⁷ For the ecclesiastical policy of Justinian with special reference to the Three Chapters controversy, see Aloys Grillmeier and Theresia Hainthaler, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. II.2: *The Church of Constantinople in the Sixth Century*, trans. by John Cawte and Pauline Allen (London: Mowbray, 1995), pp. 411–62; Karl-Heinz Uthemann, 'Kaiser Justinian als Kirchenpolitiker und Theologe', *Augustinianum*, 39 (1999), 5–83; Émile Amann, 'Trois-Chapitres', in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. by A. Vacant and others, 15 vols (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1903–50), xv.2, cols 1868–1924.

¹⁸ See Grillmeier and Hainthaler, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, II.2, 429–36.

¹⁹ *ACO*, IV.1, pp. 240–45. See the commentary in Grillmeier and Hainthaler, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, II.2, 446–53.

distinctive properties in the union, the ‘difference’ (i.e. the separation) between them exists only ‘in contemplation’, that is, in the human mind that analyses the one Christ into his component parts. The eighth canon condemns those who misinterpret the teaching of the fathers about the ‘one incarnate nature of God the word’, implying that the expression has a perfectly orthodox sense, as in Cyril of Alexandria, and can therefore be reconciled with the Chalcedonian teaching of two natures in Christ. The tenth canon teaches that the one who was crucified is ‘truly God and the lord of glory and one of the Trinity’ — echoing Cyril’s insistence that it was God the word who suffered in his own flesh, not some distinct human subject.

The programme of identifying Chalcedonian with Cyrillian Christology in its entirety was completed by the adoption of Cyril’s anti-Antiochene stance. That Chalcedon had ignored Theodore of Mopsuestia and reinstated Theodoret and Ibas was so open to misconstruction that the Chalcedonians needed to distance themselves more firmly from the former Antiochene school. This was first proposed by Justinian in 532,²⁰ and was definitively achieved in 553 by the addition of three canons anathematizing the Three Chapters — the person and writings of Theodore, the anti-Cyrillian writings of Theodoret, and the *Letter of Ibas to Mari the Persian*. The twelfth canon condemned Theodore for treating Christ not as God incarnate but as a mere man. The thirteenth canon condemned the writings of Theodoret of Cyrrhus that either defended Theodore and Nestorius or attacked Cyril of Alexandria and the Council of Ephesus of 431. Finally, the fourteenth canon condemned ‘the letter which is said to have been written by Ibas to Mari the Persian’ for expressing Nestorian views, for impugning the canonicity of Nestorius’s condemnation at Ephesus I, and for accusing Cyril of heresy. All three canons extended their anathematization to all those who had defended the Three Chapters in the past or might defend them in the future, or failed to anathematize those who did.²¹

The condemnation of Theodore comes as no surprise in a context where the theology of Cyril of Alexandria was treated as the norm of orthodoxy; if Nestorius was a heretic, it was scarcely possible to treat Theodore differently, even though he had not cast a hostage to fortune by openly attacking the *theotokos*. And now that Cyril’s *Twelve Chapters* were included among his authoritative texts, the writings of Theodoret attacking these chapters could not be defended. The only

²⁰ See Grillmeier and Hainthaler, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, II.2, 417–18.

²¹ For the full text, see *ACO*, IV.1, pp. 243–44, translated in Grillmeier and Hainthaler, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, II.2, 452–53.

real point for debate was whether it was decent or fitting to condemn the dead. The negative position was expressed with effect by Ferrandus, deacon of Carthage, the author of a particularly effective tract in defence of the Three Chapters written shortly before his death in 546. The Church has the authority to judge the living, but the dead must be left to the judgement of God. If someone dies in the bosom of the Church, it is pointless and impertinent for men to sit in judgement upon him: if God has forgiven him, our severity cannot harm him; if God is punishing him, our leniency is of no avail.²² The same view had been expressed by Cyril of Alexandria in a letter that Pope Vigilius cited in his *First Constitutum* and that Constantinople II was reduced to dismissing as yet another forgery.²³ Unfortunately, it was at precisely the time of the Three Chapters controversy that Origen was posthumously condemned, and with more reason, since adherents of Origenism were active and influential. In contrast, it was too obvious that the condemnation of Theodore and certain writings of Theodoret was stimulated not by any real danger of a recrudescence of Nestorianism, but by the desire to propitiate the enemies not just of the Antiochene school, but of the Chalcedonian Definition itself.²⁴

The Letter of Ibas to Mari the Persian: Condemnation and Defence

More complicated than the cases of Theodore and Theodoret were the problems raised by Ibas's *Letter to Mari the Persian*, which generated, in the course of the

²² Ferrandus, *Ep.* 6, *PL*, 67, cols 921–28, esp. col. 926C.

²³ Cyril's letter is *Ep.* 91 (*ACO*, I.5, pp. 314–15), cited in Vigilius, *First Constitutum*, 204, in *Collectio Avellana*, ed. by Otto Günther, CSEL, 35.1 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1895), pp. 230–320, at pp. 286–87), and dismissed as a forgery by the Council of 553 at *ACO*, IV.1, pp. 105–06. Justinian's list of heretics who had been condemned posthumously — Valentinus, Basilides, Marcion, Cerinthus, Mani, Eunomius, and Bonosus (Justinian, *Confessio rectae fidei*, *PG*, 86, cols 993–1033 (col. 1025D)) — ineffectually mixes schismatics who did not belong to the Catholic Church with heretics who were not of sufficient importance to be condemned by major councils in their lifetime.

²⁴ Justinian's claim that he was motivated not by a desire to please the anti-Chalcedonians, but by a hatred of heresy and a desire to nip in the bud an attempt to use the Three Chapters as a screen behind which to revive Nestorianism (*Letter Against Certain Defenders of the Three Chapters*, *PG*, 86, cols 1041–96 (col. 1043C/D)) does not carry conviction. Facundus could describe the question of Theodore of Mopsuestia's orthodoxy as 'ante centum et viginti annos finita et oblivioni iam tradita': Facundus, *Liber contra Mocianum scholasticum* 63, in *Facundi episcopi Ecclesiae Hermianensis opera omnia*, ed. by Jean-Marie Clément and Roland Vander Plaetse, CCSL, 90A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974), pp. 399–416 (p. 415, lines 537–38).

controversy, some quite extraordinary mental gymnastics. The minutes of the Tenth Session of Chalcedon recorded Ibas's reinstatement in his see, after the letter had been read out and after the senior of his judges, the papal representative Paschasinus, delivered the following verdict:

Now that the documents have been read, we know from the verdict of the most devout bishops that the most devout Ibas has been proved innocent, and from the reading of his letter we have found him to be orthodox. We therefore decree that both the honour of the episcopate and the church of which he was unjustly ejected in his absence should be restored to him.²⁵

Bishop Maximus of Antioch expressed himself in similar terms:

From what has just been read it has become clear that the most devout Ibas is guiltless of everything charged against him; and from the reading of the transcript of the letter produced by his adversary his writing has been seen to be orthodox.²⁶

It might therefore appear that the fathers of Chalcedon had not only acquitted Ibas, but explicitly endorsed his letter. But against this opponents of the Three Chapters, notably participants at the Council of 553 and the Emperor Justinian himself, argued as follows:²⁷

(1) The position expressed in the letter towards Cyril and his *Twelve Chapters*, towards Nestorius and Theodore, and on the natures of Christ is so incompatible with the decrees of Chalcedon that it is inconceivable the council approved the letter.²⁸

(2) The interlocutory judgements in favour of the letter by a mere two judges, Paschasinus and Maximus, had no weight against the majority view and did not commit the other bishops at the council.²⁹

²⁵ *ACO*, II.1, p. 398, lines 24–28.

²⁶ *ACO*, II.1, p. 399, lines 8–11.

²⁷ The key texts are Justinian's *Confessio rectae fidei* (*PG*, 86, cols 993–1033) and the acts of the Sixth Session of the Council of 553 (*ACO*, IV.1, pp. 137–82).

²⁸ *ACO*, IV.1, pp. 178–81. Compare Justinian, *Confessio rectae fidei*, *PG*, 86, col. 1021.

²⁹ Justinian as quoted by Facundus, *Pro defensione trium capitulorum libri XII*, V, 1. 18, in CCSL, 90A, p. 132. Facundus's treatise is also available in *Pro defensione trium capitulorum (Défense des trois chapitres, à Justinien)*, ed. and trans. into French by Anne Fraisse-Bétoulières, 5 vols, SC, 471, 478, 479, 484, 499 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2002–06). All references in this article are to the CCSL edition. Compare *ACO*, IV.1, p. 145, lines 4–9, and p. 181, lines 33–36. In fact, the verdict delivered by the senior bishop present, in this case Paschasinus as the Pope's representative, was acknowledged as having particular weight and immediate effect. At the trial of Dioscorus at the Third Session of Chalcedon, once Paschasinus had delivered his condemnation, all the other bishops referred to Dioscorus as *formerly* Bishop of Alexandria: *ACO*, II.3, pp. 304–30.

(3) The judgement of Bishops Photius and Eustathius at Tyre in 449, at the end of hearings at both Tyre and Berytus (Beirut), required Ibas to anathematize Nestorius and 'to embrace everything that was decreed in the metropolis of Ephesus, as stemming from a council guided by the Holy Spirit, and to consider it equal to the one convoked at Nicea'; this implied a condemnation of the letter. So did the requirement by the fathers at Chalcedon that Ibas had to anathematize Nestorius once more before he could recover his see.³⁰

(4) The fathers of Chalcedon had not only reinstated Ibas, but declared him innocent of the charges brought against him. This implies that they accepted the defence he had made at Berytus, that, although at the height of the Christological controversy he had followed his primate John of Antioch in condemning Cyril, he had ceased treating him as a heretic once he had 'explained' his Chapters and peace had been restored between Antioch and Alexandria.³¹ However, the *Letter to Mari* was written after the restoration of peace, and yet it treats Cyril with hostility and contempt. 'It is therefore clear that Ibas, in saying that he had said nothing against Cyril after the reunion, denied the letter.'³² Accordingly, in both the acts and decrees of the Council of 553, the letter is regularly referred to as the letter which Ibas 'is said' to have written to Mari.³³

Pope Vigilius in his *Second Constitutum* of 23 February 554 famously abandoned the defence of the Three Chapters he had developed in his *First Constitutum*, issued in May 553 during the council.³⁴ He went beyond the call of duty in not simply querying the authenticity of the *Letter to Mari* but arguing that it was certainly inauthentic. He drew out the arguments just given to inordinate length. It cannot have been demonstrated to Bishop Photius and the other judges at the hearings at Tyre and Berytus, either from Ibas's own confession or from proofs proffered by his accusers, that the *Letter to Mari* was his, or they would never have treated him with such consideration nor acquitted him of the charge of calling Cyril a heretic.³⁵ He argues the same in relation to Ibas's judges at

³⁰ *ACO*, IV.1, p. 145, lines 11–16, referring to *ACO*, II.1, p. 374, lines 6–18, and II.1, p. 401, lines 9–10. Compare Justinian, *Confessio rectae fidei*, *PG*, 86, cols 1019D–1021A.

³¹ *ACO*, II.1, p. 389, lines 31–33, and p. 390, lines 13–16.

³² *ACO*, IV.1, p. 144, lines 8–9. Compare Justinian, *Confessio rectae fidei*, *PG*, 86, col. 1020B/C, and Pope Vigilius, *ACO*, IV.2, p. 150, lines 21–26.

³³ E.g. *ACO*, IV.1, p. 137, lines 24–25, and p. 244, lines 7–8.

³⁴ The text of the *Second Constitutum* (more properly called the *Second Iudicatum* or simply the *Letter on the Three Chapters*) is in *ACO*, IV.2, pp. 138–68.

³⁵ *ACO*, IV.2, pp. 143–45. For the charge, see *ACO*, II.1, p. 384, lines 28–29.

Chalcedon.³⁶ As for the commendation of the letter by Paschasinus and Maximus, Vigilius argued that they must have been referring, not to the *Letter to Mari*, but to a testimonial in favour of Ibas sent by the clergy of Edessa and read out at Chalcedon just before the bishops delivered their verdicts.³⁷

It was in fact known to Vigilius that the acts of the Council of Ephesus of 449 contained testimony that Ibas had repeatedly admitted the authenticity of the letter at the time of the hearings at Berytus, but he dismisses this as a falsification.³⁸ But the real falsification in the record is the curious presentation of the letter in the acts of Chalcedon, where it lacks a proper introduction and any discussion following its reading, whether at Berytus or at Chalcedon. Eduard Schwartz originally argued that this was due to expurgation at the time of the Three Chapters controversy. He later argued, however, that in the reign of Justinian it was too late to change the record without any traces of the truth remaining, and that the distortion of the record must go back to the time of Marcian.³⁹ Whatever the correct dating and correct explanation, by the time the opponents and defenders of the Three Chapters read the minutes of the Tenth Session of Chalcedon, they were bafflingly incomplete, and arguments on one side or the

³⁶ *ACO*, IV.2, pp. 147, line 33 – 148, line 4; pp. 158–59.

³⁷ For Paschasinus and Maximus's commendation of the letter, see *ACO*, II.1, p. 398, lines 26–27, and p. 399, lines 10–11; for the Edessan testimonial, see *ACO*, II.1, pp. 394–96; for Vigilius's discussion, see *ACO*, IV.2, pp. 161–65. The claim that Paschasinus was referring not to the letter but to the Edessan testimonial was already familiar to Facundus: *Pro defensione*, V, 2. 18, in CCSL, 90A, p. 137. Herman M. Diepen, *Les Trois Chapitres au Concile de Chalcédoine: Une étude de la christologie de l'Anatolie ancienne* (Oosterhoud: Éditions de Saint Michel, 1953), pp. 103–04, suggests that Paschasinus commended the letter because, when it was read out, he had not understood it. It is a moot point to what extent the Roman delegates at Chalcedon (apart from the bilingual Julian of Cos) could properly follow the proceedings of the council.

³⁸ *ACO*, IV.2, p. 149, lines 3–12. The evidence can be found in the Syriac version of the acts of Ephesus: *Akten der Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449*, ed. by Johannes Flemming with a German trans. by G. Hoffmann, *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, NF*, 15 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1917), esp. pp. 52–55.

³⁹ Eduard Schwartz (*ACO*, II.1.3, p. xxvii) suggested that the motive was to protect the reputation of Bishop Photius, Ibas's principal judge at Berytus and Tyre. But who would have thought of criticizing Photius for his gentle treatment of Ibas after Ibas had been vindicated at Chalcedon? Schwartz's original view, that the changes were made during the Three Chapters controversy, remains more plausible. There is nothing to suggest that any of the protagonists in the Three Chapters controversy had access to the minutes in a pre-Justinianic edition.

other emphasizing what was not said have no validity.⁴⁰ It should also be noted that the acts of Chalcedon, as supplemented by the Syriac acts of Ephesus II, make it obvious to a modern reader that Photius of Tyre was biased in Ibas's favour and made things as difficult as he could for his accusers, who were presbyters and junior clergy from his own see: Photius had no sympathy with lower clergy harassing their bishop.⁴¹ That Ibas got off lightly at both Tyre and Chalcedon tells us more about the strength of the hierarchical principle in the late antique Church than about the justice of the tangled business of the *Letter to Mari*.

If this was the case of the critics of the *Letter to Mari*, what did its defenders argue on its behalf? A number of texts provide material: Vigilius's *First Constitutum*, the tract of Ferrandus already referred to, and most considerably, Facundus of Hermiane's *Pro defensione trium capitulorum* in twelve books, published in 550.⁴² The following points were all made with effect:

(1) There is nothing in the acts of either Berytus or Chalcedon to suggest that the authenticity of the *Letter to Mari* was questioned,⁴³ while the attempt to argue that the verdicts of Paschasinus and Maximus were not referring to Ibas's letter but to the testimonial from the clergy of Edessa are absurd: the testimonial (entitled 'Declaration and entreaty') would not have been referred to as a 'letter' and has nothing to do with the point at issue, the orthodoxy of the *Letter to Mari*.⁴⁴

(2) Ibas was orthodox in his acceptance of both the *Formulary of Reunion* of 433 and the Chalcedonian Definition and likewise in his anathematization of Nestorius. His error was to misunderstand Cyril and to regard his earlier writings, notably the *Twelve Chapters*, as heretical. But the faith he upheld was in fact, though he was unaware of the fact, identical to Cyril's throughout.⁴⁵ He criticized Cyril for teaching, as he supposed, one nature after the union: to say that this constituted an attack on the actual beliefs of Cyril is to agree with the Eutychians that Cyril taught one not two natures in Christ.⁴⁶ Ibas's error was to regard Cyril's

⁴⁰ Examples are Vigilius (*Second Constitutum*, in *ACO*, IV.2, pp. 151, line 28 – 152, line 11) and Facundus (*Pro defensione*, V, 2. 14–15, in *CCSL*, 90A, pp. 136–37).

⁴¹ See my observations in *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, II, 267–68.

⁴² Vigilius, *First Constitutum*, *CSEL*, 35.1, pp. 230–320; Ferrandus, *Ep.* 6, *PL*, 67, cols 921–28. For Facundus, *Pro defensione*, see above, note 29.

⁴³ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, V, 2. 1–2, in *CCSL*, 90A, p. 134.

⁴⁴ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, V, 2. 17–20, in *CCSL*, 90A, pp. 137–38.

⁴⁵ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, VI, 5. 1–4, in *CCSL*, 90A, pp. 182–83.

⁴⁶ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, VI, 4. 18–24, in *CCSL*, 90A, pp. 181–82. Compare Vigilius, *First Constitutum*, 276–79, *CSEL*, 35.1, pp. 308–09.

acceptance of the *Formulary of Reunion* as a retracting of the *Twelve Chapters*, when in fact it demonstrated that the two were in agreement.⁴⁷

(3) Just as Ibas's misunderstanding of Cyril did not make him a heretic, so likewise, even if it were the case that he failed to see that Nestorius was a heretic, this would not tar him with the same heresy but simply reveal that he understood Nestorius no better than he understood Cyril.⁴⁸ The issue of orthodoxy relates to theological tenets; it is quite distinct from opinions, correct or erroneous, about individuals. Cyril himself recognized this point when, on the occasion of the restoration of peace with the Syrian bishops, he did not require them to withdraw their accusations against him personally but was happy to accept their profession of faith as orthodox and make peace on this basis alone.⁴⁹

(4) Once this distinction is recognized, we can see that the actual doctrinal content of the *Letter to Mari* simply follows the two-nature teaching of the *Formulary of Reunion*, which Chalcedon reaffirmed. To treat the letter as heretical is to reject the faith of Chalcedon.⁵⁰

If we compare these arguments to those of the opponents of the Three Chapters, we cannot but note certain common assumptions that reflected an imperfect understanding of Chalcedon. Both sides accepted the authority of Cyril's *Twelve Chapters*, which Chalcedon had not, and both presumed that in the judgement on Ibas the *Letter to Mari* was of prime importance, while in fact most of the verdicts delivered by the bishops pointedly ignored it.

But the point of most general significance is that the two sides differed in their fundamental criteria of orthodoxy. For the opponents of the Three Chapters, as for the eastern churches generally (excepting the Nestorian remnant), truth about Christ and adherence to the theology of Cyril of Alexandria were one and the same: to defend the Council of Chalcedon, one had to show that it had followed Cyril, and if the decrees of the council were at all unclear in this respect, it was proper to supplement them. Against this, defenders of the Three Chapters argued that, if loyalty to Cyril were made the key criterion of orthodoxy, Eutychians

⁴⁷ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, VI, 1. 17 and VI, 4. 13, in CCSL, 90A, pp. 164, 180. This argument was less strained than the claim that Ibas was really on Cyril's side since, once Cyril had 'explained' the Chapters, he withdrew his criticisms: Ferrandus, *Ep. 6, PL*, 67, cols 923D–924A; Vigilius, *First Constitutum*, 275, CSEL, 35.1, pp. 307–08.

⁴⁸ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, VII, 3. 8, in CCSL, 90A, p. 199.

⁴⁹ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, VI, 5. 40–49, in CCSL, 90A, pp. 190–93.

⁵⁰ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, VI, 5. 11, in CCSL, 90A, pp. 184–85. For other texts that make this point, see Diepen, *Les Trois Chapitres au Concile de Chalcédoine*, p. 98, n. 1.

would have to be tolerated, which brought out how the key criterion was not loyalty to Cyril but adherence to the Chalcedonian formula of two natures in Christ.⁵¹ It was essential for orthodoxy to uphold the Definition as having the same standing as the Nicene Creed — that is, as a fundamental document that should be the starting point for any discussion. To alter the decrees of Chalcedon on Theodoret and Ibas was to treat the work of the council as defective; this was not a legitimate move to win over the critics of the council but a capitulation that undermined the very foundations of orthodoxy.⁵² Once we decide that some of the decrees of Chalcedon need revision, none of the work of the council is safe, nor indeed the work of any of the ecumenical councils. As Ferrandus concluded, ‘What will be secure, if the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon are called into doubt?’⁵³ The debate over the Three Chapters lost itself in tendentious detail, but it arose from a fundamental difference about the criteria of orthodoxy.

Admittedly, I have somewhat oversimplified. Neo-Chalcedonianism may have treated a fully Cyrillian Christology as the criterion for a true interpretation of Chalcedon, but the Chalcedonian formula of two natures in Christ remained sacrosanct. It was acknowledged that Cyril had often used miaphysite (one-nature) expressions and that therefore such expressions could be wholly orthodox, but they were not put on a par with the dyophysite (two-nature) formula of Chalcedon.⁵⁴ When in the seventh century debate moved on to the energies and wills in Christ, the logic of dyophysitism led to a definition of two energies and wills in Christ, even though these expressions were not Cyrillian, and though the theology that expounded them, notably in Maximus the Confessor, transcended the parameters of the fifth-century debate.

⁵¹ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, VI, 2. 2–3, in CCSL, 90A, pp. 167–68.

⁵² Facundus pointed out sagaciously that the Eutychian attack on Ibas was an indirect assault on the orthodoxy of the Chalcedonian Definition. To yield to this attack would not strengthen but undermine Chalcedonian orthodoxy: *Pro defensione*, VI, 4. 16, in CCSL, 90A, p. 180.

⁵³ ‘Quid erit firmum, si quod statuit Chalcedonense concilium vocatur in dubium?': Ferrandus, *Ep.* 6, *PL*, 67, col. 925B. Compare Vigilius, *First Constitutum*, 280–83, CSEL, 35.1, pp. 309–10.

⁵⁴ Note Justinian's argument that when Cyril wrote of ‘one nature’, what he actually meant was one hypostasis: *Confessio rectae fidei*, *PG*, 86, cols 999D–1011D. That neither Justinian nor the Council of 553 gave the stamp of approval to one-nature expressions is rightly seen by Grillmeier and Hainthaler, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, II.2, 434–35, 438, 450–51, 456.

The Attitude of Rome

Meanwhile, western loyalty to Chalcedon contained agenda that had little to do with the council itself. It had been important to Pope Leo that in condemning Eutyches the Definition confirmed the message of his own Tome, but the verbal formulation adopted at Chalcedon, with its two natures, double consubstantiality, and oneness of hypostasis, was of little interest to him. Like Cyril in the previous generation, Leo never mistook verbal formulae for theological substance. In his letters written after the council there was a mounting insistence on the authority of Chalcedon in matters of the faith, to the extent where questioning that authority was treated as tantamount to undermining the Nicene Creed itself. This stress on the finality of Chalcedon arose from anxiety over the opposition to the Definition in the East and fear that the government might be tempted to compromise.⁵⁵ These fears were realized with the issuing of the *Henotikon* in 482, to which Rome responded with predictably dire warnings about the threat it posed to the whole fabric of the Christian faith.⁵⁶ The theopaschite controversy of the early sixth century excited similar forebodings.⁵⁷ Chalcedon had been a rare moment when the voice of Rome was (or appeared) decisive and the theological concerns of West and East coincided. But the later developments in Byzantine Christology, and the tergiversations of a government at Constantinople concerned to restore unity in the East, were incomprehensible to Rome, and it responded with a constant appeal to the definitive character of the Chalcedonian decrees, in an attempt to stop the clock.

⁵⁵ See Aloys Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. II.1: *Reception and Contradiction: The Development of the Discussion About Chalcedon from 451 to the Beginning of the Reign of Justinian*, trans. by John Cawte and Pauline Allen (London: Mowbray, 1987), pp. 123–38, and Fritz Hofmann, 'Der Kampf der Päpste um Konzil und Dogma von Chalkedon von Leo dem Grossen bis Hormisdas (451–519)', in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Aloys Grillmeier and Heinrich Bacht, 3 vols (Würzburg: Echter, 1951–54), II, 13–94. Leo drew a distinction, however, between the dogmatic work of the council, which he accepted, and its Canon 28 on the status of the see of Constantinople, which he did not: see *Epp.* 104–06, in *ACO*, II.4, pp. 55–62.

⁵⁶ See Pope Felix III, *Ep.* 2 (to Acacius of Constantinople, of 483), in *Epistolae Romanorum pontificum genuinae et quae ad eos scriptae sunt*, vol. 1: *A S. Hilario usque ad Pelagium II*, ed. by Andreas Thiel (Braunsberg: Eduard Peter, 1867–68), pp. 232–39.

⁵⁷ See Pope Gelasius, *Ep.* 13 (to the Orientals, of 512), in *Epistolae Romanorum pontificum*, vol. 1, ed. by Thiel, pp. 717–22.

After Pope Vigilius had condemned the Three Chapters in his *Second Constitutum* and a number of western churches had reacted by breaking off communion with him, the arguments of the Roman see took on a rather different character, in an attempt to minimize the significance of the schism.⁵⁸ The first eleven canons of Constantinople II, which expressed the full Cyrillian Christology of the *Twelve Chapters*, were simply ignored: no attempt was made to impose Neo-Chalcedonianism on the western churches, and it was the dogmatic decrees of the first *four* councils, up to and including Chalcedon, that were proclaimed normative for the Christian faith. Vigilius's successors insisted on the condemnation of the Three Chapters, but interpreted them as relating to persons and not to doctrines. Pope Pelagius II (579–90), writing to the Istrian schismatics, developed this line of argument as follows. What had to be protected was not *all* the decrees of Chalcedon, since Pope Leo himself had drawn a clear distinction between the doctrinal decrees, meaning the Definition, which he confirmed, and the decrees on matters lying outside the faith, which he expressly excluded. Writing to Maximus of Antioch, Leo had gone so far as to distance himself from the acts of his delegates: 'If it is said that the brethren I sent to represent me at the holy council transacted anything apart from what pertained to the cause of the faith, it will be utterly without validity, since they were sent by the apostolic see purely to defend the Catholic faith by excising heresy.' The condemnation of the Three Chapters did not then undermine the authority of Chalcedon on matters of faith, even if it revised its decrees relating purely to persons. Pelagius added that on the day of judgement neither Theodore of Mopsuestia nor the *Letter of Ibas* would be of any avail to their defenders.⁵⁹

Because of the long silence of Vigilius's successors over Neo-Chalcedonianism, it was therefore an innovation when at the Lateran Council of 649 all the

⁵⁸ The following discussion is indebted to Wilhelm de Vries, *Orient et Occident: Les structures ecclésiastiques vues dans l'histoire des sept premiers conciles oecuméniques* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1974), pp. 167–74. For the stance of Pope Gregory the Great, see Robert A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), chap. 9, 'Scissum corpus: The Schism of the Three Chapters', pp. 125–42 (esp. pp. 128–31).

⁵⁹ *ACO*, IV.2, p. 119; see also pp. 109–10, citing Leo, *Ep.* 114 ('approbationem gestorum synodaliū [. . .], in sola videlicet fidei causa, quod saepe dicendum est'). But what Leo refused to confirm was specifically Canon 28 on the privileges of the see of Constantinople. The decrees reinstating Theodoret and Ibas he simply ignored, presumably because he did not feel that decrees relating to specific eastern bishops needed his confirmation. They had been approved at the time of their making by Leo's representatives at Chalcedon. Only in the later context of the Three Chapters controversy did the lack of an explicit ratification by Leo come to seem significant.

dogmatic canons of the Council of 553 were solemnly read out, immediately after the creeds and definitions of the first four ecumenical councils.⁶⁰ And then in its own canons, the council incorporated certain Neo-Chalcedonian themes: its second canon echoes the tenth canon of 553 on the divine word being the subject of the passion; the fifth canon, like the eighth canon of 553, offers an orthodox interpretation of the phrase 'one incarnate nature'; the sixth canon describes Christ as 'from two and in two natures', a conciliatory formula that combined Cyril's teaching of 'one from two' with the Chalcedonian formula of the one Christ acknowledged in two natures.⁶¹ This represented not a conscious change of front in the Three Chapters controversy, but a recognition that the debate had moved on. In seeking eastern allies against the new heresy of Monotheletism, Rome needed the support of eastern Chalcedonians who had no doubts over the authority of Constantinople II. The schism over the Three Chapters had dwindled to a point where it was no longer necessary to claim that nothing had been added to the doctrinal decrees of Chalcedon.

I shall conclude by passing judgement on the debate. Or is this something one should leave to theologians? Should we not look at the debate with the same detachment with which (to use a simile from Plato and Celsus) one might observe frogs squatting round a pond? Indeed, those who think that sixth-century bishops wasted the energies of the Empire on theological disputes that were blown up beyond all proportions may well think that comparing bishops to frogs does injustice to the frogs. Nevertheless, I think the debate becomes a little more interesting if we are ready to take sides. I have already commented on the element of sophistry on both sides of the debate. It was strained to draw a sharp distinction between the person of Theodoret and the standing of a significant part of his writings, and there were no serious grounds for claiming that the fathers of Chalcedon did not believe in the authenticity of the *Letter to Mari*; but on the other hand, it was a misreading of the acts of Chalcedon to see the reinstatement of Theodoret and Ibas as a triumphant vindication of their orthodoxy. Defenders of the Three Chapters argued with some effect that their condemnation was a one-sided concession to the opponents of Chalcedon that would only make them more obstinate; since Justinian singularly failed to win over the anti-Chalcedonians, it may seem that this judgement was justified by the event. But where, however, I think that Justinian and the opponents of the Three Chapters were more perceptive

⁶⁰ *ACO*, series 2, I, pp. 224–35.

⁶¹ *ACO*, series 2, I, pp. 368–73.

than the western defenders of the Chapters was in their recognition that, while the decisions of Chalcedon had indeed to be upheld (the failure of the *Henotikon* had demonstrated that), the work of the council had at the same time to be supplemented in such a way as to clear away its ambiguities, ambiguities that had arisen not from some flaw in the faith and intentions of the council fathers but from the peculiar circumstances in which they had conducted their work. The restoration of Theodore and Ibas to their sees had not expressed the true mind of the council. Or should we criticize Constantinople II for adopting a fully Cyrillian Christology and condemning the Three Chapters in this context? It had indeed reinterpreted the decrees of Chalcedon, just as Constantinople I (381) had supplemented and completed the work of Nicea. It is only by such reinterpretation that the Christian Church acknowledges its human limitations and escapes from being the victim of its past.

L'AFRIQUE RECONQUISE ET LES TROIS CHAPITRES

Yves Modéran

‘**C**e bienfait de Dieu, nos prédécesseurs ne l’ont pas mérité [. . .]. Que toute l’Afrique sente l’effet de la miséricorde du Dieu tout puissant, et que ses habitants, libérés de cette si dure captivité et du joug barbare, sachent dans quel état de liberté ils ont mérité de vivre sous notre très glorieux Empire [. . .]!’¹ L’exclamation de Justinien résumait bien, au printemps 534, la manière dont l’empereur concevait désormais son rôle dans cette Afrique² qui ‘avait reçu [. . .] la liberté après cent cinq années de captivité par les Vandales, ennemis des âmes en même temps que des corps’.³ Depuis sa conception même, qui aurait été la conséquence d’une apparition miraculeuse du martyr africain Laetus de Nepta, l’expédition qu’il avait confiée à Bélisaire à l’été 533 avait revêtu des allures de croisade.⁴ Et sa conviction d’être le bras armé de Dieu était

¹ *Codex Iustinianus*, I, 27. 1, 6 et 8, éd. par Paul Krueger, dans *Corpus Juris Civilis*, vol. II, éd. par Paul Krueger, Theodor Mommsen, et autres (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895) (ci-dessous *Cod. Iust.*), p. 77: ‘Quod beneficium dei antecessores nostri non meruerunt [. . .] universa Africa sentiat omnipotentis dei misericordiam et cognoscat eius habitatores, quam a durissima captivitate et iugo barbarico liberati in quanta libertate sub felicissimo nostro imperio degere meruerunt.’

² L’Afrique byzantine dont il sera question dans ce chapitre correspondait pour l’essentiel à l’ancien royaume vandale, c’est-à-dire aux provinces de Numidie, Proconsulaire (ou Zeugitane), Byzacène, et Tripolitaine. Les deux lois qui organisèrent en 534 la nouvelle préfecture prévoyaient aussi la recréation de deux Maurétanies. La Sitifienne fut effectivement reconquise en 539, mais semble-t-il pour peu de temps. La Césarienne se limita à une série d’implantations côtières. Curieusement, alors que la ‘Maurétanie’ est citée lors des conciles de 525 et de 646, il n’en est jamais question durant la crise des Trois Chapitres, comme d’ailleurs de la Tripolitaine.

³ *Cod. Iust.*, I, 27, 1, p. 77: ‘ut Africa [. . .] reciperet libertatem, ante centum et quinque annos a Vvandalis captivata, qui animarum fuerant simul hostes et corporum’.

⁴ Cf. Yves Modéran, ‘Les Eglises et la *reconquista* byzantine, A, l’Afrique’, dans *Les Eglises d’Orient et d’Occident*, éd. par Luce Pietri, avec la collaboration de Brigitte Beaujard et autres,

désormais d'autant plus forte que l'Eglise l'acclamait effectivement comme le libérateur de 'cent années d'une captivité cruelle',⁵ qui venait maintenant aussi la protéger d'une nouvelle menace. Car depuis la fin des années 520, la révolte maure jusque-là limitée à la Maurétanie et à la Numidie méridionale avait gagné les régions urbanisées, sans aucun ménagement pour les chrétiens: en janvier 533, huit mois à peine avant le débarquement de Bélisaire, les insurgés avaient ainsi frappé même la cité de saint Fulgence, 'causant de nombreuses dévastations par le pillage, le meurtre et l'incendie, et égorgeant dans l'enceinte même de l'église [de Ruspe] tous ceux qui s'y trouvaient'.⁶ Lorsque l'évêque Reparatus de Carthage déclara au printemps 535, lors du premier concile général de l'Afrique depuis plus d'un siècle, qu'«un sentiment de liesse spirituelle»⁷ l'animait lui et tous ses collègues, il ne cédait donc à aucun formalisme de commande: l'Eglise africaine était parfaitement consciente de ce qu'elle devait à Justinien, et elle était fermement décidée à devenir désormais sa fidèle alliée. Or, moins de dix ans après, la condamnation impériale des Trois Chapitres ébranlait cette belle harmonie, en ouvrant entre Constantinople et Carthage une crise aussi brutale qu'inattendue.

Engagée dans cette controverse presque immédiatement, l'Afrique réagit en effet à l'initiative théologique de Justinien longtemps de manière quasi unanime, et en usant de tous les moyens possibles. L'importance des textes que nous avons conservés de cette résistance, d'une ampleur sans égale ailleurs en Occident, en demeure aujourd'hui le meilleur témoin. Déjà fameux par les œuvres de Primasius d'Hadrumète et de Verecundus de Junci,⁸ les théologiens de la nouvelle préfecture

Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours, 3 (Paris: Desclée, 1998), pp. 699–717 (surtout pp. 702–03).

⁵ Lettre du concile de Carthage au pape Jean en 535, *Collectio Avellana*, n° 85, éd. par Otto Günther, CSEL, 35.1 (Vienne: F. Tempsky, 1895), p. 328: les évêques célèbrent le rétablissement du concile, une coutume 'quam violenta captivitas per annos centum [. . .] abstulerat'. Sur la persécution vandale, cf. Yves Modéran, 'L'Afrique et la persécution vandale', dans *Les Eglises d'Orient et d'Occident*, éd. par Pietri, pp. 247–78.

⁶ *Vita Fulgentii*, 28, éd. et trad. par le P. G.-G. Lapeyre (Paris: Lethielleux, 1929), pp. 139–41: 'rapinis, caedibus, incendiis multa devastans atque intra ipsas ecclesiae parietes, quos invenire potuit jugulans'.

⁷ Lettre du concile de Carthage au pape Jean en 535, *Collectio Avellana*, n° 85, CSEL, 35.1, p. 328: 'in omnibus enim laetitiae spiritalis unus fuit adfectus'.

⁸ Cf. ce que dit d'eux une lettre de clercs italiens en 552, 'qui inter ipsos et sanctitate vitae et divinarum scripturarum scientia sunt ornati [. . .]': *Ep. 4, Epistolae aevi Merovingici collectae*, éd. par Wilhelm Gundlach, MGH, *Epp*, 3, *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), pp. 438–42 (pp. 439, ligne 41 – 440, ligne 1). La datation des œuvres de l'un et de

byzantine retrouvèrent alors les accents de leurs glorieux prédécesseurs, et l'un d'entre eux, Facundus d'Hermiane, laissa même un véritable monument, son traité *Pro defensione trium capitulorum*.⁹ Ces textes, combinés avec les documents

l'autre n'est pas parfaitement assurée, mais on les situe en général avant 544. Pour Primasius d'Hadrumète, il s'agit du *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, éd. par W. Adams, CCSL, 92 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), que recommandait déjà Cassiodore dans les *Institutiones*, I, 9. 4, éd. par R. A. B. Mynors, éd. corrigée (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 33; pour Verecundus de Junci du *Carmen de paenitentia*, dans *Verecundi Iuncensis Carmen de paenitentia*, éd. et trad. italienne par Maria G. Bianco (Naples: M. D'Auria, 1984), et des *Commentarii super cantica ecclesiastica*, éd. (avec le *Carmen de satisfactione Paenitentiae*) par R. Demeulenaere, CCSL, 93 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), pp. 1–203. On a parfois relié le thème du *Carmen de paenitentia* aux malheurs de Verecundus dans la crise des Trois Chapitres, lorsqu'il fut enfermé à Constantinople, en 551–52. Mais malgré la notice du *De viris illustribus* du pseudo-Isidore de Séville (*PL*, 83, col. 1088: 'de paenitentia, in quo lamentabili carmine propria delicta deplorat'), l'hypothèse est aujourd'hui souvent abandonnée. Il faudrait ajouter à ces œuvres théologiques d'Africains du début de l'époque byzantine, antérieures à la crise des Trois Chapitres, les *Instituta regularia divinae legis* de Junillus: voir Michael Maas, *Exegesis and Empire in the Early Byzantine Mediterranean: Junillus Africanus and the Instituta regularia divinae legis* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

⁹ Sont conservés des textes de Pontianus, probable évêque de Théma en Byzacène, *Epistola Pontiani episcopi ad Justinianum imperatorem, De tribus capitulis*, *PL*, 67, cols 995–98; Ferrandus, diacre de Carthage, *Ep.* 6, *PL*, 67, cols 921–92; Liberatus, diacre de Carthage, *Breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum*, éd. par Eduard Schwartz, *ACO*, II.5, pp. 98–141; Victor, évêque de Tunnuna, *Chronicon*, dans *Victor Tunnunensis, Iohannes Biclarenensis: Chronicon cum reliquiis ex Consularibus Caesaraugustanis – Chronicon*, éd. par Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, CCSL, 173A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 1–55; et trois œuvres de Facundus, évêque d'Hermiane en Byzacène: le volumineux *Pro defensione trium capitulorum* (*Défense des trois chapitres, à Justinien*), éd. et trad. française par Anne Fraïsse-Bétoulières, SC, 471, 478, 479, 484, 499 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2002–06); et deux pamphlets plus courts, le *Liber contra Mocianum* et l'*Epistula fidei catholicae in defensione trium capitulorum*, dans *Facundi episcopi Ecclesiae Hermianensis opera omnia*, éd. par Jean-Marie Clément et Roland Vander Plaetse, CCSL, 90A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974), pp. 399–416, 417–34. Tout récemment cependant, et après la remise de notre manuscrit à l'éditeur, le Père Aimé Solignac, dans un supplément non annoncé au tome 4 de l'édition avec traduction du *Pro defensione* par Anne Fraïsse-Bétoulières citée précédemment (SC, 499, pp. 277–82), vient de remettre en cause l'attribution de l'*Epistula fidei* à Facundus, en proposant d'en créditer un clerc italien inconnu. Ses arguments sont malheureusement présentés en seulement quelques pages, et ne nous paraissent pas, du moins en l'état, avoir la valeur définitive qu'il veut leur assigner. Les problèmes codicologiques sont certes troublants, mais ne peuvent suffire à emporter la décision, et notamment pour ce qui concernerait une origine italienne: le *codex Laudunensis* 113, où l'œuvre apparaît pour la première fois, est en effet avant tout un recueil de textes africains: cf. François Dolbeau et Raymond Étaix, 'Le jour des torches (24 juin), d'après un sermon inédit d'origine africaine', *ARG S. Band, Heft 1* (2003), 243–59 (surtout pp. 246–51). Les différences de style et d'exemples relevés ensuite, pour intéressantes qu'elles soient, laissent un doute, faute d'avoir en face une liste des ressemblances, qui ne semblent pas négligeables. Enfin,

italiens et orientaux, constituent un ensemble d'une grande richesse, qui malgré encore d'importantes zones d'ombre, permet de tenter une réponse à ce qui reste ici le trait le plus remarquable de la crise des Trois Chapitres: la virulence et la radicalité de l'attitude des Africains.¹⁰ Après une mise au point sur les événements et la chronologie, notre chapitre sera donc consacré surtout à ce problème, en en proposant une nouvelle approche, fondée sur la prosopographie et la mise en valeur des effets complexes de la combinaison entre une tradition ancienne d'indépendance et la mémoire d'une persécution toujours très présente dans les esprits.

Les étapes de la crise, 544–569

Les aspects africains de cette crise n'ont, paradoxalement, qu'assez peu retenu l'attention des historiens,¹¹ et leur chronologie reste incertaine encore sur de nombreux points.¹² Les sources s'étendent sur une durée d'environ vingt-cinq ans,

à aucun moment, le P. Solignac ne semble envisager une évolution de la pensée et une dégradation du style chez un écrivain depuis longtemps persécuté, isolé et aigri comme l'était Facundus vers 570, plus de 15 ans après ses œuvres majeures. On ne peut donc que souhaiter que cette introduction (à laquelle on joindra, du même savant, un article plus général: 'Un auteur trop peu connu: Facundus d'Hermiane', *Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques*, 51 (2005), 357–74), qui souligne à juste titre des difficultés trop longtemps négligées dans l'attribution de l'œuvre, soit rapidement suivie d'une véritable étude critique détaillée. Mais dans tous les cas, nous ne voyons, pour l'instant, aucune raison décisive pour remettre en cause l'origine africaine de l'*Epistula fidei*.

¹⁰ Virulence et radicalité d'autant plus frappantes qu'elles s'opposaient à un empereur dont la personne, aux dires de Facundus, inspirait la terreur: *Pro defensione*, II, 1. 3, SC, 471, p. 266: 'quod posito terrore tuae personae [...]'.
¹¹ Toutes les histoires générales et les histoires de l'Eglise accordent évidemment une place à la question, et à cet égard les pages (et les notes) de Ernest Stein restent fondamentales: *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, t. II: *De la disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476–565)*, publiée par Jean-Remy Palanque (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1949). Mais si les recherches spécifiques sur tel ou tel protagoniste africain de la crise sont devenues plus nombreuses ces dernières années, le seul essai de synthèse sur l'Eglise d'Afrique et les Trois Chapitres reste celui de Wolfgang Pewsies, 'Imperium, ecclesia universalis', Rom: Der Kampf der afrikanischen Kirche um die Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts', dans *Geistige Grundlagen römischer Kirchenpolitik*, éd. par Erich Seeberg, Robert Holzmann, et Wilhelm Weber, Forschungen zur Kirchen und Geistesgeschichte, 11 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1937), qui mérite mieux que le jugement un peu trop sévère de Stein (*Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 645, n. 2). Avant Pewsies, l'essentiel avait été vu par Charles Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine: histoire de la domination byzantine en Afrique (533–709)* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1896).

¹² Outre le manque de sources à plusieurs moments, notamment après 555, le problème est dû à l'imprécision de la *Chronique* de Victor de Tunnuna qui, à de nombreuses reprises, associe

de 544–45 à 569, à l'intérieur de laquelle plusieurs périodisations ont été proposées, souvent en fonction des événements de la capitale. Si l'on privilégie le point de vue des Africains eux-mêmes, trois grandes phases se distinguent cependant. Pendant une longue période, de 544 à 551, le débat prévalut, dans une relative liberté, à la faveur d'un contexte politique intérieur difficile pour les autorités militaires et civiles, scandé longtemps par les rebondissements des insurrections maures. Un tournant se produisit ensuite, à partir de 551, marqué par le déclenchement d'une répression policière, encore tempérée cependant par le souci de préparer le concile oecuménique: les Africains furent alors largement unis dans le refus des interventions impériales, et en même temps souvent solidaires du pape. Le concile et le ralliement de Vigile introduisirent à partir de 554 une dernière époque, dans laquelle, face à un pape qui avait cédé et un empereur intransigeant, l'Afrique se divisa, avant d'abandonner peu à peu sa résistance.

a) La première phase commença entre fin 543 et début 545, lorsque Justinien entendit faire ratifier un texte de condamnation des Trois Chapitres, que Aloys Grillmeier a proposé d'appeler l'*In damnationem trium capitulorum*.¹³ Ce *decretum* (selon les termes de Facundus d'Hermiane¹⁴), d'abord soumis à l'évêque Menas de Constantinople¹⁵ et à d'autres prélats et clercs présents dans la capitale, fut apparemment en effet envoyé aussi dans toutes les provinces (au moins de l'Occident).¹⁶ C'était

dans un but démonstratif ou symbolique deux ou plusieurs événements dont un seul est, en fait, justement situé: cf. ainsi son chapitre sur l'année 552 (Victor, *Chronicon*, 145, dans CCSL, 173A, pp. 47–48) où, après avoir évoqué les mesures répressives prises cette année là contre Reparatus, Verecundus et Primasius, il se met soudain, à propos de ce dernier, à raconter le reste de sa vie, qui se prolongea au moins jusqu'en 554. Sur cet auteur et sa *Chronique*, cf. désormais Victor Tunnunensis, *Chronica: Chiesa e Impero nell'eta di Giustiniano*, éd. par Antonio Placanica (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1997).

¹³ Aloys Grillmeier, *Le Christ dans la tradition chrétienne*, t. II.2: *L'Église de Constantinople au VI^e siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 1993), pp. 553–61. L'auteur date le texte de l'hiver 544–45.

¹⁴ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, III, 1. 9, SC, 478, p. 36.

¹⁵ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, IV, 4. 2, SC, 478, p. 192: Menas est le 'primus [...] confirmator'.

¹⁶ Victor, *Chronicon*, 137, dans CCSL, 173A, pp. 45–46: 'Iustinianus imperator per diuersas prouincias in regni sui finibus constitutas instantissime scribit et antistites cunctos prefata tria capitula damnare compellit.' Victor situe cette lettre en 548, mais il s'agit vraisemblablement de celle de 543–55. On en rapprochera Facundus, *Pro defensione*, II, 3. 19, SC, 471, pp. 300–01: 'Car il ne semble pas qu'il y ait d'autre raison — et l'on n'en donne pas — pour justifier qu'on fasse circuler une demande d'adhésion dans de nombreuses provinces' ('Nam alia causa nec uidetur, nec dicitur, pro qua suscribendum in multas prouincias mitteretur').

une *formula suscribendi*,¹⁷ sur laquelle l'empereur exigeait que chacun porte manuellement sa signature.¹⁸ Même si le texte affirmait rester fidèle au concile de Chalcedoine, Justinien était parfaitement conscient dès ce moment de la gravité de sa décision, et, comme le dit plus tard Facundus d'Hermiane, puisqu'il s'attaquait à un concile oecuménique, il souhaitait pareillement l'approbation de l'ensemble de l'Eglise.¹⁹

On ne sait si l'empereur s'adressa aux différents primats africains, à charge pour eux d'obtenir les signatures de leurs évêques, ou s'il écrivit directement à chacun. Le rôle de l'administration civile, et notamment du préfet du prétoire, dans cette procédure reste aussi obscur.²⁰ L'arrivée de l'ordre impérial marqua, dans tous les cas, le début en Afrique d'une première période de débats, qui s'étendit sur plus d'une année, et dont on saisit ou devine trois aspects. Sans qu'aucun concile ne soit mentionné, de multiples discussions durent d'abord avoir lieu, qui aboutirent à une prise de position négative dont un court texte, à dater de 545, fait têt état: c'est la lettre de l'évêque Pontianus à Justinien, dans laquelle l'essentiel de l'argumentation des Africains se trouve déjà exprimé, mais avec une vigueur et surtout, à la fin, avec des avertissements qui ne laissent place à aucun compromis:

Ainsi donc, nous avons appris à la fin de ta lettre, ce qui ne nous préoccupe pas de façon médiocre, qu'il nous fallait condamner Théodore, et les écrits de Théodore, et la lettre d'Ibas. De leurs écrits, quasiment rien ne nous est parvenu jusqu'à présent. S'ils nous parvenaient, et que quelques textes apocryphes s'y trouvaient qui soient contre la règle de la foi, nous les lirions; nous pouvons prendre en considération les textes, nous ne pouvons condamner les auteurs de textes déjà morts. S'ils vivaient encore et que, confondus, ils ne condamnaient pas leur erreur, ils seraient justement condamnés. Mais aujourd'hui, à qui sera lue la sentence de notre condamnation? Ce qui en eux a été corrigé n'existe plus. Mais je crains, très pieux empereur, que ne resurgisse sous leur condamnation l'hérésie eutychienne: et alors, tandis que nous repousserions des opinions d'importance minime, nous en viendrions à une hérésie majeure et à un vrai affrontement. Et pourquoi commencerions-nous une guerre dans laquelle aucune victoire n'est possible? Ils ont fait l'objet déjà d'un

¹⁷ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, III, 1. 8, SC, 478, p. 36.

¹⁸ Interrogé par le diacre romain Etienne, Menas affirma qu'on lui avait juré qu'il pourrait reprendre sa parole si le pape Vigile n'était pas d'accord. Or les termes employés par Facundus ('quod chirographum suum reciperet') montrent qu'il s'agissait bien d'une signature à porter sur l'acte impérial lui-même: *Pro defensione*, IV, 4. 3, SC, 478, p. 192.

¹⁹ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, II, 3. 18–19, SC, 471, p. 300; Facundus, *Contra Mocianum*, 37, dans CCSL, 90A, p. 409.

²⁰ Sur les problèmes politiques graves qui accaparaient à ce moment l'attention du préfet, cf. *infra*, pp. 69–70.

juste jugement, contre lequel personne ne fait appel. Et par ce fait même que vous nous honorez et vous nous distinguez, nous supplions ta clémence, pour que la paix demeure dans ton époque, de ne pas chercher à condamner des gens déjà morts, de ne pas anéantir les nombreux vivants qui ne t'obéissent pas, pour que tu ne sois pas obligé, par suite, de rendre des comptes à celui qui aura à juger les vivants et les morts.²¹

La relative rareté de son nom incite à identifier l'auteur de ce texte avec Pontianus de Thèna, mentionné en 523 dans un concile tenu à Junci en Byzacène, puis en 533 lors de l'élection du successeur de saint Fulgence à Ruspe.²² Si l'hypothèse est juste, l'homme était déjà âgé, et, ancien témoin de la persécution vandale, possédait un prestige certain dans sa province. Même si elle ne désigne pas explicitement son auteur comme un porte-parole, il se peut donc que sa lettre ait constitué une première réponse officielle de l'ensemble de l'épiscopat de Byzacène à Justinien.²³

Parallèlement à ces débats internes et à cette communication directe avec Constantinople, l'Afrique fut aussi en contact avec Rome dès le début de la controverse. De manière remarquable cependant, ce ne fut pas elle qui sollicita

²¹ Pontianus, *Epistola ad Justinianum*, PL, 67, cols 995–98: 'In extremo itaque epistolae vestrae cognovimus, quod nos non mediocriter remordet, debere nos Theodorum, et scripta Theodoretī et epistolam Ibae damnare. Eorum dicta ad nos usque nunc minime pervenerunt. Quod si et pervenerint, et aliqua ibi apocrypha, quae contra fidei regulam dicta sint, legerimus; dicta possumus respicere, non auctores dictorum jam mortuos praecipiti condemnatione damnare. Quod si adhuc viverent, et correpti errorem suum non condemnarent, justissime damnarentur. Nunc autem quibus recitabitur sententia damnationis nostrae? Quod in eis recorrigatur non est. Sed timeo, piissime imperator, ne sub obtentu damnationis istorum Eutychiana haeresis erigatur: et dum minima indicia non spernimus, ad majorem haeresim collisionemque veniamus. Et quid nobis cum mortuis inire bellum, ubi nulla invenitur in congressione victoria? Apud judicem verum jam tenentur, a quo nullus appellat. Per ipsum, in quo nos honoratis et diligitis, supplicamus clementiam tuam, ut pax permaneat temporibus tuis, ne dum quaeris damnare jam mortuos, multos inobedientes interficias vivos, et exinde compellaris reddere rationem ei qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.'

²² *Concilium Carthaginense (5–6. Februarii 525)*, dans *Concilia Africae a. 345–a. 525*, éd. par Charles Munier, CCSL, 149 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974), pp. 255–82 (pp. 276–77: sous le nom de Ponticanus); *Vita Fulgentii*, 29, éd. et trad. par Lapeyre, p. 143: 'recolo visionem fidelissimam beati Pontiani, episcopi Thenitani, quam sic ipse narravit'. Le rapprochement entre les deux est suggéré par André Mandouze, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, t. 1: *Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne (303–533)* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1982), p. 884.

²³ Hypothèse également envisagée par Robert Eno, 'Doctrinal Authority in the African Ecclesiology of the Sixth Century: Ferrandus and Facundus', *Revue des études augustinienes*, 22 (1976), 95–113 (p. 97).

l'avis du siège pontifical, mais l'inverse. Les diacres romains Anatole et Pélage²⁴ s'adressèrent en effet, probablement dans le courant de l'année 545, à son théologien alors le plus fameux, parce que jadis le plus proche de saint Fulgence, le diacre Ferrandus de Carthage, en lui demandant d'avoir 'à ce sujet une discussion diligente avec le très révérend évêque de cette même Carthage ou d'autres qu'il savait remplis de zèle pour la foi et de connaissance de l'Écriture divine'.²⁵ La réponse de Ferrandus fut donc celle, sinon de l'Afrique tout entière, du moins de la Proconsulaire.²⁶ Le ton en est plus modéré que dans la lettre de Pontianus, mais les positions sont les mêmes, marquées par le refus de condamner des prélats morts dans la paix de l'Eglise, et surtout le refus de revenir sur les décisions d'un concile oecuménique.²⁷ On ignore ce que fut la réaction romaine à ce texte. L'Eglise d'Afrique ne se contenta pas, en tout cas, de l'attendre, et elle chercha aussi à faire entendre directement sa voix auprès du pape. Sans qu'il soit possible de dire s'il appartenait à une délégation véritablement officielle, Facundus d'Hermiane fit partie ainsi de ces évêques ou clercs occidentaux que Vigile, sorti de Rome plus ou moins contre sa volonté fin 545, rencontra en Sicile dans la première moitié de 546, et qui tous le poussèrent à refuser de souscrire à l'édit impérial.²⁸ Dès avant

²⁴ Les deux diacres étaient alors les représentants du pape à Constantinople. Mais ils durent envoyer leur lettre à Ferrandus après avoir consulté Vigile.

²⁵ '[...] ut habito de hac causa diligenti tractatu, cum reuerentissimo eiusdem Carthaginienensis episcopo, uel aliis quos et zelum fidei et diuinae scripturae sciret habere notitiam, [...]': Facundus, *Pro defensione*, IV, 3. 7, SC, 478, p. 190.

²⁶ C'est probablement à cette réponse que fait allusion Facundus d'Hermiane lorsqu'il déclare, à un moment qui se situe au temps du séjour de Vigile en Sicile ou de son voyage vers Constantinople, en 546: 'Quant à la ville de Rome tout entière et à l'Afrique [...], c'est par un témoignage *non sans importance* que nous connaissons leur avis sur la nouveauté de cette décision' ('Et Romana quidem uniuersitas atque Africa, [...] non paruo iam cognoueramus indicio, quid de huius facti nouitate sentirent': *Pro defensione*, IV, 3. 6, SC, 478, pp. 188–91).

²⁷ Ferrandus, *Ep.* 6, *PL*, 67, cols 921–28.

²⁸ Vigile '[...] n'omit pas de dire que la ville de Rome tout entière à son départ, que l'Afrique également et la Sardaigne pendant son voyage, bien qu'il ne les a pas traversées, firent pourtant pression sur lui par son propre conseiller, en une protestation publique, comme les provinces de Grèce et d'Illyrie par lesquelles il passa, pour qu'il n'acceptât en aucune façon la décision nouvelle qui avait été prise' ('[...] quando non tacuit quod Romana quoque uniuersitas egredientem, quod uenientem Africa etiam atque Sardinia, quamquam non per eas transierit, per ipsius tamen consiliarium publica eum contestatione pulsauerint, sicut Hellas et Illyricus prouinciae per quas uenit, ut nullatenus nouitati quae facta est acquiescat': Facundus, *Pro defensione*, IV, 3. 5, SC, 478, pp. 188–89).

l'arrivée du pape à Constantinople en janvier 547, les positions africaines étaient donc nettement dessinées, apparemment définies à l'unanimité, et jusque-là en pleine harmonie avec celles du reste de l'Occident.

La seconde étape dans cette première phase de la crise, qui s'étend de l'entrée du pape dans la capitale à son ralliement (547–548), est beaucoup moins bien connue en Afrique même. Tout se joua alors à Constantinople, et les Africains n'y intervinrent directement que par l'intermédiaire de leurs clercs présents dans la capitale. Mais ceux-ci écrivirent beaucoup, et il est peu douteux que dans leurs provinces d'origine, malgré les développements tragiques de la guerre contre les Maures,²⁹ on ne continua pas à débattre des initiatives impériales et à se mobiliser contre elles. Par Facundus d'Hermiane, nous savons que Vigile, désormais convaincu par Justinien depuis l'été 547, réunit, probablement dans l'hiver 547–548, soixante-dix évêques jusque-là hostiles à la condamnation des Trois Chapitres pour leur faire approuver son propre revirement, avant d'apporter officiellement son approbation au texte impérial.³⁰ Parmi ces soixante-dix se trouvaient des Africains, dont Facundus lui-même, le seul dont le nom soit indiqué explicitement.³¹ La nature de cette assemblée reste assez mystérieuse,³² et l'historiographie moderne n'a guère jusqu'ici proposé de solutions satisfaisantes pour en éclairer la genèse. Charles Diehl pensait que ces évêques étaient venus d'eux-mêmes à Constantinople, alors que Louis Duchesne croyait à une convocation impériale.³³ Les deux hypothèses sont possibles, moyennant quelques précisions. Comme il le fit ensuite en 551, Justinien a pu appeler les évêques occidentaux les plus en évidence

²⁹ L'année 547 fut marquée en effet par une défaite catastrophique du général Jean Troglita dans le sud tunisien, qui provoqua une nouvelle invasion des tribus de Tripolitaine en Byzacène: cf. Yves Modéran, *Les Maures et l'Afrique romaine, IV^e–VII^e siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2003), pp. 630–31.

³⁰ *Pro defensione, praef.*, 3, SC, 471, p. 143; *Contra Mocianum*, 36, dans CCSL, 90A, p. 409; sur leur refus jusque-là de ratifier l'édit impérial, *ibid.*, 32, dans CCSL, 90A, p. 408.

³¹ La présence d'autres Africains pourrait se déduire de la remarque faite par Facundus que le traité qu'il était en train d'écrire, et qui fondait son argumentation le troisième jour des débats (avant qu'il ne soit interrompu par Vigile), l'était 'sur le conseil de ses frères' ('suadentibus fratribus'): *Pro defensione, praef.*, 1, SC, 471, pp. 140–41.

³² Facundus, très imprécis dans le *Pro defensione*, parle dans le *Contra Mocianum*, 36 (CCSL, 90A, p. 409) de 'septuaginta circiter episcopi cum Romano antistite Constantinopolim congregati', ce qui n'est pas plus éclairant sur la procédure de convocation suivie.

³³ Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, p. 436; Louis Duchesne, *L'Eglise au VI^e siècle* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1925), p. 187. Ernest Stein (*Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 643) préférerait quant à lui ne pas trancher, et envisageait les deux hypothèses.

dans l'opposition, pour constituer autour du pape une sorte de 'comité d'experts' dont il pensait que les membres, une fois leur capitulation obtenue, entraîneraient ensuite leurs compatriotes dans la soumission. Il est curieux pourtant qu'aucun texte ne mentionne cette convocation. L'hypothèse d'un déplacement volontaire reste donc plausible, mais en tenant compte des règles alors en vigueur: au moins en Afrique en effet, le concile de 535 l'avait répété, un clerc ne pouvait se rendre outre-mer qu'avec l'accord de son primat.³⁴ Facundus et ses collègues auraient donc été délégués par leurs provinces, pour entourer le pape et l'aider à résister, ce qui expliquerait mieux le silence des sources sur la situation religieuse en Afrique dans les années 547–549. Avec eux vinrent aussi d'autres personnages, comme Felix, 'qui Gillitano monasterio dicitur praefuisse',³⁵ dont on ignore les modalités exactes du voyage. On sait en revanche ce qu'il advint des soixante-dix évêques: Vigile, abrégant les débats et empêchant Facundus de développer son argumentation, leur extorqua en une semaine une approbation de sa nouvelle ligne, et il put publier aussitôt après son *Iudicatum*, le 11 avril 548.

Une troisième étape commença alors, de 548 à 550, durant laquelle les Africains, confrontés désormais à deux textes de condamnation, l'un impérial et l'autre pontifical, adoptèrent des positions de plus en plus radicales, qui se traduisirent par deux événements majeurs en 550: la publication du *Pro defensione trium capitulorum* de Facundus d'Hermiane, et la réunion d'un concile général des provinces

³⁴ Cf. la lettre du concile au pape Jean, dans *Collectio Avellana*, n° 85, CSEL, 35.1, pp. 329–30.

³⁵ Vigilius, *Ep. ad Rusticum et Sebastianum* (fin 549 ou début 550), dans *ACO*, IV.1, pp. 188–94 (p. 194): 'Felicem etiam monachum Afrum, qui Gillitano monasterio dicitur praefuisse, et levitate sua atque inconstantia congregationem ejusdem monasterii per diversa loca, certum est, dispersisse, et vestrae pravitatis incentor est [...]'. Ce monastère pourrait être celui de Cillium, en Byzacène. Le siège épiscopal de cette cité est en effet désigné par l'adjectif 'Cillitanus' sur les listes officielles, et notamment sur la *Notitia provinciarum et civitatum Africae* de 484 (Victor de Vita, *Histoire de la persécution vandale en Afrique, suivie de La passion des sept martyrs et de Registre des provinces et des cités d'Afrique*, éd. et trad. par Serge Lancel (Paris: Belles lettres, 2002), p. 262): 'Byzacena, 64: Fortunatianus Cillitanus'; et la confusion C/G est banale. Mais le monastère de Felix est appelé Gillensis par Victor de Tunnuna (*Chronicon*, 147, dans CCSL, 173A, p. 49), ce qui s'accorde moins bien avec le nom de Cillium. Comme on connaît aussi par l'épigraphie un ethnique Gillitanus à Henchir el-Fras, en Proconsulaire (Héron de Villefosse, 'Note transmise par le Révérent Père Delattre sur des inscriptions latines découvertes en Tunisie', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, quatrième série, 27 (1899), 16–19: trois dédicaces à la dynastie sévérienne rédigées par des decur(iones) Gillitani), il se peut que Felix ait finalement appartenu à la cité de Gilli (?), dans cette province.

africaines à Carthage. La chronique de Victor de Tunnuna, un témoin direct, est ici sans ambiguïté :

Durant la dixième année qui suivit le consulat du clarissime Basilius, les évêques d'Afrique, réunis en synode, excluent de la communion catholique, parce qu'il avait condamné les Trois Chapitres, Vigile, l'évêque de Rome, tout en lui laissant la possibilité de se repentir, et ils envoient, pour la défense de ces Trois Chapitres, des lettres fort justes à l'empereur Justinien par l'intermédiaire d'Olympus. C'est à cette époque que les douze livres de Facundus, évêque de la ville d'Hermiane, parurent dans tout leur éclat. Il y déclarait que les Trois Chapitres avaient été condamnés bien évidemment pour porter atteinte à la foi catholique et apostolique et au concile de Chalcédoine.³⁶

Ce concile était le premier depuis 535 à réunir toute l'Afrique, surmontant ainsi tous les particularismes provinciaux qui s'étaient avivés depuis quinze ans. Victor de Tunnuna met bien en valeur sa double finalité, répondre fermement au pape et à l'empereur, et en même temps ménager une possibilité de réconciliation avec Vigile ('*reservato ei penitentie loco*'), dont la situation difficile en 548 n'était évidemment pas ignorée. La même prudence transparaît dans le livre de Facundus, qui tout en étant inflexible sur les textes, parle quand même du 'bienheureux pape Vigile' ('*beatus Vigilus praesulis*')³⁷ et de 'saint Vigile' ('*sanctus Vigilus*').³⁸ Tout ceci laisse deviner durant ces deux années de multiples tractations entre l'entourage pontifical et les Africains, qui expliquent aussi qu'en 551, après le retrait du *Iudicatum* en août 550, et alors que les Illyriens refusaient de répondre, l'Afrique accepta la proposition impériale et papale de nouvelles discussions :

Mais le pape, ne consentant pas à faire cela [condamner les Chapitres sans faire mention du concile de Chalcédoine], et se voyant accablé, dit alors au prince sérénissime : 'que viennent ici cinq ou six de nos frères de toutes les provinces ! Et ce qui aura été discuté par tous dans la tranquillité, nous l'adopterons, car sans l'accord de tous, je ne donnerai jamais seul mon consentement à quoi que ce soit qui mette en doute le concile de Chalcédoine et qui apporte le scandale à mes frères'. Le très clément prince envoya donc des messages en Afrique et en Illyricum, qui disaient que les évêques devaient venir. Mais personne ne

³⁶ '[141] Post consulatum Basili v. c. anno X, Affricani antistites Vigilum Romanum episcopum dannatorem trium capitulorum sinodali ter a catholica communione reseruato ei penitentie loco secludunt et pro defensione memoratorum trium capitulorum litteras satis idoneas Iustiniano principi per Olimpium magistrianum mittunt. [142] Eo tempore duodecim libri Facundi Hermianensis ecclesie episcopi refulsere, quibus euidentissime declarauit tria sepe fata capitula in proscriptione fidei catholice et apostolice Calcidonensisque concilii fuisse damnata': Victor, *Chronicon*, 141–42, dans CCSL, 173A, p. 46.

³⁷ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, II, 6. 1, SC, 471, pp. 336–37.

³⁸ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, II, 6. 12, SC, 471, pp. 344–45.

voulut venir de l'Illyricum. En revanche, on apprit que quelques Africains s'approchaient de la cité impériale [...].³⁹

Justinien était cependant, dès ce moment, résolu à en finir, et la répression s'abattit très vite sur les Africains, marquant clairement pour eux le passage à une seconde phase de l'histoire de la crise.

b) Le concile de Carthage de 550, et la publication la même année de l'énorme ouvrage de Facundus, à l'argumentation extrêmement riche, ont certainement beaucoup pesé dans la décision prise par l'empereur de laisser Vigile retirer son *Iudicatum*, et de rendre leur signature aux évêques qui l'avaient ratifié.⁴⁰ Mais ils lui ont en même temps fait prendre conscience que la résistance là-bas ne pourrait décidément être surmontée par le débat, et que d'autres méthodes s'imposaient, s'il voulait obtenir du concile œcuménique, qu'il avait promis au pape, une condamnation des Trois Chapitres. La stratégie impériale prit donc dès lors deux formes. D'une part, et ce fut pour l'empereur la vraie raison de son accord à la proposition de Vigile de rouvrir de nouvelles discussions avec les régions rebelles, il convoqua à Constantinople les plus hauts représentants de l'Eglise d'Afrique, avec la ferme intention de les faire plier, et d'entraîner ainsi leurs provinces.⁴¹ Le primat d'Afrique Proconsulaire Reparatus de Carthage, le primat de Numidie Firmus de Tipasa, et, venus à la place du primat Boethius, vieux et malade, les deux théologiens les plus célèbres de Byzacène après Facundus, Primasius d'Hadrumète et Verecundus de Junci, aussitôt arrivés, furent soumis ainsi à toutes sortes de

³⁹ Ep. 4, dans MGH, *Epp*, 3, p. 439: 'Sed papa non adquiescens hoc facire et videns se nimium ingravari, dixit tunc serenissimo principi: veniant huc fratris nostri ex omnibus provinciis quini aut sini episcopi, et, quicquid sub tranquillitate tractato habito omnibus visum fuerit, cum pace disponemus, quia sene consensum omnium ista, quae et sinodum Calchedoninse in dubio venire faciunt et scandalum fratribus meis generant, solus facire nullatenus adquiescam. Missi sunt ergo a clementissimo principe ad Affricam et Illiricum, ut venire episcopi debuissent. Sed de Illirico nullus venire voluit. De Affrica vero iam cum aliqui proximare civitate regiae dicerentur, dixit papa Vigilius principi [...].' Ce texte capital (cité ici avec l'orthographe d'origine) est le seul à souligner cette différence d'attitude des Africains (cf. *supra* note 8); sur sa date (première moitié de 552), ses auteurs, et son contenu, cf. Claire Sotinel, *Identité civique et christianisme: Aquilée du III^e au VI^e siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2005).

⁴⁰ 'libellis episcoporum redditus [...]: *Fragmentum damnationis Theodori episcopi Caesareae Cappadociae a beato Vigilio papa factae*, PL, 69, cols 59–62 (col. 60).

⁴¹ Victor, *Chronicon*, 143, dans CCSL, 173A, p. 47: 'Reparatus archiepiscopus Cartaginis ecclesie, Firmus Numidarum episcoporum primatus, et Primasius ac Verecundus concilii Byzaceni episcopi pro fidei causa ad urbem regiam eiusdem precepto principis evocantur.'

pressions,⁴² surtout à partir de juillet 551, lorsqu'ils furent confrontés à l'édit *De recta fide*. À l'exception du représentant de la Numidie, Firmus, qui, 'corrompu par les cadeaux du prince, donna son accord à la condamnation des Trois Chapitres',⁴³ peut-être dès 551, tous se solidarisèrent cependant avec Vigile, qui avait choisi désormais de résister, mais ils connurent des sorts divers. Verecundus de Junci et Primasius d'Hadrumète, qui avaient souscrit en août 551 à la condamnation papale de l'inspirateur de l'édit, Théodore Askidas, furent contraints de s'enfermer dans des monastères proches de la capitale. Le premier mourut de maladie en 552.⁴⁴ Primasius continua à suivre Vigile: il signa le premier *constitutum* le 14 mai 553 et refusa de siéger au concile si le pape n'y siégeait pas: 'papa non praesente, non venio'.⁴⁵ Quant à Reparatus de Carthage, le plus prestigieux du groupe, il fut neutralisé par une autre méthode: on fabriqua (à l'automne 551 probablement) un procès politique, l'accusant de compromission dans une vieille affaire, le coup d'Etat du *dux* de Numidie Guntarith qui, pendant trois mois dans l'hiver 545-546, avait usurpé le pouvoir à Carthage.⁴⁶ L'évêque fut condamné, déposé, et déporté à Euchaïta, dans la province du Pont, dont il ne put jamais sortir et où il mourut le 7 janvier 563.⁴⁷

⁴² *Ep.* 4, dans MGH, *Epp.* 3, p. 439: 'Cum Affri episcopi, de quibus supra dictum est, in civitate regia pervenissent, coeperunt eis nunc blandimentis, nunc terroribus extorquere, ut praeberint in capitulorum damnatione consensum.'

⁴³ Victor, *Chronicon*, 145, dans CCSL, 173A, p. 47: 'Firmus concilii Numidie primatus donis principis corruptus damnationi eorumdem capitulorum assensum prebuit, sed ad propria remeans in naui morte turpissima interiit.' La date de Victor se rapporte peut-être seulement à ce décès.

⁴⁴ Victor, *Chronicon*, 145, dans CCSL, 173A, p. 48: 'Verecundus uero ecclesie Iuncensis episcopus, in defensione memoratorum perdurans capitulorum, Calcidona, ubi refugium fecerat, in diuersorio gloriose martyris Euphimie de hac uita migravit ad Deum.' La lettre des clercs italiens (*Ep.* 4, dans MGH, *Epp.* 3, p. 440), signalait déjà, sans le nommer, que Verecundus était très malade au moment de son enfermement.

⁴⁵ *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum sub Iustiniano habitum*, dans *ACO*, IV.1, p. 29.

⁴⁶ *Ep.* 4, dans MGH, *Epp.* 3, p. 439: 'Sed cum nullatenus eis extorquere potuissent, concinnata est causa sancto Reparato episcopo Chartageniensi, quasi Hariobindam magistrum militum a Guntharit tyranno in Affrica fecisset occidi et sub hoc colore in exilio depotatus est.' Sur ce coup d'Etat, cf. Procope, *Guerre vandale*, XXV-XXVIII (*Procopius: History of the Wars, Books 3-4: The Vandalic War*, éd. Henry Bronson Dewing, vol. II, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1916), pp. 420-43), et pour la chronologie, Modéran, *Les Maures et l'Afrique romaine*, p. 623.

⁴⁷ Victor, *Chronicon*, 165, dans CCSL, 173A, p. 53.

En même temps, probablement dès le début de 551, l'empereur faisait agir en Afrique même ses fonctionnaires, désormais libérés des préoccupations de la guerre contre les Maures (depuis les victoires du général Jean Troglita en 548), et il dépêchait des avocats, dont le fameux Mocianus,⁴⁸ stigmatisé par Facundus.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ La fonction exacte de ce Mocianus reste imprécise: son titre n'est indiqué que dans l'*incipit* du manuscrit du traité de Facundus: 'incipit liber eiusdem beatissimi Facundi contra Mocianum sc(h)olasticum' (nous citons cet *incipit* d'après l'édition Clément et Vander Plaetse, CCSL, 90A, p. 401). Cependant, si le mot *scholasticus* a plusieurs sens, il désignait à l'époque surtout un avocat. Mocianus était un Africain, jadis converti à l'arianisme au temps du royaume vandale (*Contra Mocianum*, 64, dans CCSL, 90A, p. 415: 'iste [. . .] qui Vandalis regantibus arianus fuit'). La datation de son action dépend de la date du traité de Facundus. Mais celle-ci pose d'énormes problèmes. L'auteur dit au *Contra Mocianum*, 63 (CCSL, 90A, p. 415) qu'avec les Trois Chapitres 'a été ressuscitée une question close depuis cent vingt ans' ('resuscitatur eius quaestio ante centum et viginti annos finita'). Manifestement, il ne songe pas alors au concile de Chalcédoine, car cette remarque suit une phrase où il rappelle que les manœuvres des Acéphales contre ces Chapitres avaient déjà été repoussées 'par Jean d'Antioche et le concile oriental, ainsi que par Cyrille d'Alexandrie et Proclus de Constantinople' ('cum Apollinaristae progenitores Acephalorum, cum quibusdam dictorum eius capitulis eum quaererent abdicari et a Iohanne Antiocheno atque Orientali concilio, nec non Cyrillo Alexandrino, et Proclo Constantinopolitano repulsi sunt'): *Contra Mocianum*, 62, dans CCSL, 90A, p. 415). Comme Stein l'a compris, c'est probablement le concile d'Antioche de 438 qui est ici évoqué, ce qui daterait le *Contra Mocianum* de 557–58. Mais cette datation semble en même temps impossible en raison de l'absence dans le traité de toute allusion au concile de Constantinople et au second *Constitutum* de Vigile, et même à la mort de celui-ci. Stein concluait à une publication avant juin 553 (*Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 824–26). Diehl a cependant remarqué que Facundus semble aussi à la fois connaître le ralliement de certains évêques à la condamnation des Trois Chapitres, et ignorer en même temps l'édit *De recta fide* et surtout les violences faites à Vigile fin 551. Il propose donc plutôt une rédaction au début de l'été 551, après la capitulation du primat de Numidie, et avant l'édit impérial: Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, pp. 442–43, n. 1. Cette solution paraît, compte tenu de ce qui est reproché à Mocianus et qui s'expliquerait bien en 551–52, la plus raisonnable, tout en restant très hypothétique: que faire en effet du chiffre de 'cent vingt ans'? Stein corrige en CXV, mais cela ne résout aucunement le problème. On serait tenté, à sa suite, de corriger en CXIII, ce qui resterait paléographiquement possible, mais en admettant toujours une version originale où l'indication aurait figuré en chiffres et non en lettres. Peut-être, plus simplement, doit-on se demander si Facundus n'arrondit pas grossièrement la chronologie. Il est curieux, en tout cas, de retrouver (cette fois à bon escient) ce chiffre de cent vingt ans dans l'*Epistula fidei* (2, dans CCSL, 90A, p. 419).

⁴⁹ Le contexte précis dans lequel Mocianus exerça son action n'est jamais indiqué de manière explicite dans le *Contra Mocianum* de Facundus, qui est notre seule source. Certains historiens (ainsi Eno, 'Doctrinal Authority in the African Ecclesiology', p. 110) comprennent qu'il se trouvait à Constantinople et qu'il cherchait à influencer les clercs africains dans la capitale. Mais ceux-ci n'étaient pas si nombreux, et surtout, à la date probable du *Contra Mocianum*, vers le milieu de 551, affichaient des positions fermement hostiles à la condamnation des Trois Chapitres. Certes,

Les premiers devaient user de la menace et de la répression, et ils obligèrent Facundus à commencer ses longues années d'errance, de cachette en cachette; les seconds devaient, par la persuasion ou la corruption, obtenir des ralliements et diviser le clergé: nous savons ainsi que Mocianus utilisait les textes de saint Augustin contre les donatistes, en développant une argumentation qui rapprochait de ces derniers les adversaires de la condamnation des Trois Chapitres.⁵⁰ Le but immédiat restait la préparation du concile oecuménique annoncé, où Justinien voulait être sûr, cette fois, d'avoir des prélats dociles. Ces manœuvres s'intensifièrent à partir de fin 551, après la déposition de Reparatus, lorsque l'empereur fit consacrer à sa place son diacre apocrisiaire, Primosus, qui avait approuvé l'édit impérial. Cette intervention, en sortant du domaine théologique, réussit ce qui ne s'était, semble-t-il, pas encore produit jusque-là: elle déclencha une réaction des fidèles. Si Victor de Tunnuna indique simplement que Primosus 'fut ordonné évêque de l'Eglise de Carthage contre les vœux du clergé en même temps que du peuple',⁵¹ une lettre de clercs italiens du début 552 rapporte en effet que 'cela se fit avec une grande effusion de sang et la mort de nombreux innocents'.⁵² Ces méthodes brutales créèrent dans toute l'Afrique un climat de peur dont témoigne bien, à la même époque, le début du *Contra Mocianum* de Facundus d'Hermiane: 'Il aurait fallu, vénérables fils, que je

Facundus indique que l'abbé Félix lui a écrit pour lui rapporter les liens qui existaient entre Mocianus et Théodore Askidas. Mais il ajoute aussitôt après: 'Sed et Carthagine similiter, ut aduertimus, astruebat quod praedictus Mopsuestenus Theodorus iuste ac regulariter post mortem fuerit condemnatus' (*Contra Mocianum*, 6, dans CCSL, 90A, p. 402). La lettre de Félix peut donc être une la réponse à une demande de renseignements sur le passé du personnage. Tout le problème, en fait, est de savoir où se cachait Facundus au moment où il écrivait ce traité. Mais il nous semble que c'est en Afrique que l'action de Mocianus avait le plus de sens. Nous restons donc fidèle ici à l'interprétation de Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, pp. 442-43.

⁵⁰ Facundus, *Contra Mocianum*, 3, dans CCSL, 90A, p. 401: 'Mais j'ai appris aussi, parce que le messager me l'a raconté, que ce même Mocianus [...] avait fait circuler certains écrits de saint Augustin, et que de ces textes, que le saint avait écrits de manière adéquate contre les donatistes, il faisait une utilisation inadéquate, en s'efforçant de les adapter à la situation présente, pour mieux tromper les innocents' ('Sed hoc quoque comperi, memorato nuntio mihi narrante, quod idem Mocianus [...] quaedam beati Augustini dicta circumferat; et quae ille contra Donatistas conuenienter locutus est, inconuenienter ipse ad decipulam simplicium causae nitatur aptare praesenti').

⁵¹ Victor, *Chronicon*, 145, dans CCSL, 173A, p. 47: 'contra uota cleri simulque et populi episcopus Cartaginensis ecclesie ordinatur'.

⁵² *Ep.* 4, dans MGH, *Epp.* 3, p. 440: 'mittunt etiam ad Carthaginem et alium in loco sancti Reparati episcopi contra omnes regolas et contra omnia statuta patrum episcopum ordinari fecerunt; quod cum nimia effusione sanguinis et interitum multorum innocentum hominum fecisse dicuntur'.

vous dédie, comme c'est l'usage, cette oeuvre modeste que vous m'avez réclamée. Mais comme je crains que, connaissant nos cachettes, vous ne tombiez sous les accusations des persécuteurs que nous fuyons, je n'ai pas voulu vous nommer [...].⁵³

Le choix des évêques à déléguer au concile se fit dans cette atmosphère, et sous l'impulsion du préfet du prétoire à en croire les clercs italiens: 'le préfet d'Afrique, s'il trouve en Afrique des évêques préoccupés de leurs propres affaires, ou isolés, ou ignorants, ou vénaux et prêts à accepter une faveur, les rassemble et les expédie [vers la capitale]'.⁵⁴ On ne sait cependant si le petit nombre d'élus, huit en tout (sans compter le primat de Numidie), qui finalement siégèrent au concile de 553 fut le résultat d'une sélection sévère, ou le reflet d'une impossibilité constatée par le préfet de trouver plus de prélats fiables. Tous se montrèrent en tout cas dociles et signèrent tous les actes.⁵⁵

c) La dernière phase de la crise commença alors, marquée par trois facteurs étroitement liés: le ralliement du pape Vigile, officiel avec le second *constitutum* en février 554, la division des Africains, et l'intensification de la répression impériale. Selon le diacre Liberatus de Carthage⁵⁶ et Victor de Tunnuna, qui sont nos

⁵³ Facundus, *Contra Mocianum*, 1, dans CCSL, 90A, p. 401: 'Sed metuens ne tamquam latebrarum nostrarum conscii, persecutorum quos fugimus incideretis in calumnias, nominare uos nolui.'

⁵⁴ *Ep.* 4, dans MGH, *Epp.* 3, p. 440: 'Praefectus vero Affricae, si quos invenit in Africa episcopos aut causas proprias habentes aut simplices vel ignarus aut venalis et paratus ad praemium, collegit et direxit inde unumquemque.'

⁵⁵ Firmus de Tipasa est cité sur toutes les listes de présence des différentes sessions (*Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum sub Iustiniano habitum*, dans *ACO*, IV.1, pp. 4, 21, 33, 40, 204) mais son nom est absent des signatures finales (pp. 220–31). Les autres évêques ratifièrent les actes: pour la Numidie, ce furent Crescens de Cuicul (n° 57 sur la liste finale des signatures, p. 226), Restitutus de Milev (n° 92, p. 228), et Cresconius de Zattara (n° 108, p. 228); pour la Proconsulaire, Sextilianus de Tunis (n° 10, p. 222), Valerianus d'Obba (n° 52, p. 226), Victor de Sinna (n° 112, p. 229), et Cresciturus de Bossa (n° 117, p. 229); pour la Byzacène, le seul Pompeianus de Victoriana (n° 21, p. 225).

⁵⁶ Liberatus, *Breviarium causae*, *ACO*, II.5, p. 141: 'Mais les autres choses qui ont été faites ensuite par le même prince aux évêques et à l'Eglise catholique, comment les évêques qui ont donné leur accord à la condamnation des Trois Chapitres ont été enrichis par des cadeaux, comment ceux qui ont refusé leur accord ont été déposés et envoyés en exil, comment certains, en fuite, cachés et en difficulté, ont supporté une mort heureuse, je pense devoir le taire maintenant, puisque ce sont des choses connues de tous' ('cetera vero quae subsequenter in episcopis et catholica ecclesia ab eodem principe facta sunt, quomodo consentientes episcopi in trium damnatione capitulorum muneribus ditabantur vel non consentientes depositi exilium missi sunt vel aliqui fuga latitantes in angustiis felicem exitum susceperunt, quoniam nota sunt omnibus, puto a me nunc silenda'). Ce texte, très hostile à Pélagie, est postérieur à la mort de Vigile (555).

principales sources désormais, ceux qui se rallièrent alors le firent par faiblesse morale. Ainsi pour Primasius d'Hadrumète, qui céda en 554: 'Averti de la mort du primat du concile de Byzacène Boethius, et afin de lui succéder, il revint sur ce qu'il avait d'abord défendu et il souscrivit immédiatement à la susdite condamnation (des Trois Chapitres), et il se lança dans de violentes persécutions, accablant de calomnies les fidèles et s'emparant de leurs biens.'⁵⁷

Ainsi surtout ensuite des évêques de Proconsulaire et de Numidie:

Les évêques du concile de la province d'Afrique Proconsulaire, trompés par la ruse des évêques Rufinus et Vibius, détracteurs de l'archevêque Reparatus [...], se souillèrent en entrant en communion avec le prévaricateur Primosus de l'Eglise de Carthage, à l'exception d'un très petit nombre [...] [Puis] les évêques du concile de Numidie, à l'instar des évêques de Proconsulaire, se réunirent à Carthage et, souillés par la communion de l'Eglise usurpatrice du même Primosus et devenus des prévaricateurs, rentrèrent ensuite chez eux.⁵⁸

En soulignant le rôle de Primosus et de Primasius, Victor montre bien que Justinien se fondait désormais, pour faire respecter les décisions du concile, sur les primats ralliés, qu'appuyait l'administration impériale.⁵⁹ En Proconsulaire et en Numidie, la méthode fut efficace, car aucune trace de résistance n'est attestée après 554–555,⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Victor, *Chronicon*, 145, dans CCSL, 173A, pp. 47–48: 'sed Boetio primate Bizaceni concilii morte preuento, ut ei succederet, memorate damnationi protinus assensit reuersusque ad sua, que prius defendebat, ualidissimis persecutionibus impugnauit, fidelibusque calunnias generando, eorumque substantias auferendo'.

⁵⁸ Victor, *Chronicon*, 149, dans CCSL, 173A, p. 49: 'Proconsularis concilii Affricane prouincie sacerdotes, Rufini et Viui episcoporum, Reparati archiepiscopi obtrectatorum, arte delusi, tanquam defensoribus fidei occurrunt et Primosi preuaricatoris Cartaginis ecclesie communione preter paucissimos polluuntur.' Victor, *Chronicon*, 152, dans CCSL, 173A, p. 50: 'Concilii Numidie episcopi ad instar proconsularium sacerdotum collecti Cartaginem ueniunt et Primosi eiusdem ecclesie incubatoris communione polluti preuaricatoresque effecti ad propria redeunt.' Victor situe le ralliement des Numides en 555, mais cette distinction chronologique ne doit probablement pas ici être exagérée.

⁵⁹ Cette collusion des deux pouvoirs est bien mise en valeur par Victor lorsque, pour l'année 556 (?), il écrit que 'Primosus, l'usurpateur de l'Eglise de Carthage, fit souffrir ceux qui s'opposaient à lui, tantôt par les coups, tantôt par la prison, tantôt aussi par l'exil' ('Primosus Cartaginis incubator ecclesie sibi nolentes assensum prebere nunc fustibus nunc custodibus, nunc quoque exiliis affligit': Victor, *Chronicon*, 155, dans CCSL, 173A, p. 51). Ces deux dernières formes de répression ne relevaient que de la justice impériale.

⁶⁰ Il faudrait citer cependant la résistance de ceux qui avaient été déportés en Orient et continuèrent à refuser tout compromis: Reparatus de Carthage, prisonnier à Euchaïta, et l'abbé Félix, arrêté et déporté en Egypte peu après le concile de Constantinople, en compagnie du diacre romain Rusticus et d'autres rebelles: 'Quorum decretis Rusticus Romane ecclesie diaconus et Felix

en dehors des écrits de Liberatus, qui se cachait.⁶¹ En Byzacène, en revanche, où, on l'a vu avec la lettre de Pontianus de Thèna, l'opposition était née dix ans avant, la situation resta longtemps plus complexe. Selon Victor de Tunnuna, Primasius, 'ayant ainsi pêché, ne put aller plus loin car, après avoir été condamné par les évêques catholiques de son concile pour ses prévarications, il mourut d'une mort malheureuse, et ce qu'il avait saisi frauduleusement fut emporté par les juges'.⁶² Diehl estimait que ce passage impliquait qu'un 'concile solennel de Byzacène condamna la lâche capitulation du primat'.⁶³ Le langage du chroniqueur est cependant ambigu et peut résumer en fait deux phénomènes différents: une condamnation religieuse par une partie des évêques⁶⁴ (ceux que l'auteur appelle 'les évêques catholiques', auxquels s'opposeraient implicitement les autres), et une condamnation civile pour des abus de pouvoir relevant du droit commun (les 'juges' renvoyant ici au gouverneur de la province). On pourrait donc entrevoir derrière ce texte, et un autre passage où, pour l'année 556, Victor signale que le primat de Carthage Primosus 'fit souffrir ceux qui s'opposaient à lui',⁶⁵ l'existence d'un schisme africain, organisé à partir de 554, mais minoritaire et centré sur la Byzacène. Celui-ci expliquerait aussi l'arrestation et la déportation, peut-être dès avant 554, de deux évêques de la province, Victor de Tunnuna et Théodore de Cébarsussi,⁶⁶ et la

Gillensis monasterii prouincie Affricane egumenus contradicentes scripto Tebaïda in exilium cum suis sociis transmittuntur' (Victor, *Chronicon*, 147, dans CCSL, 173A, p. 49). Félix y mourut en 557 d'après la même source (Victor, *Chronicon*, 158, dans CCSL, 173A, p. 51), mais la date doit probablement être corrigée en 555, comme celle de la mort du pape Vigile qui lui est associée.

⁶¹ Certains pensent qu'il était plutôt lui aussi exilé. Tout dépend du sens à donner à la première phrase de son *Breviarium*: 'Fatigué par les nécessités d'un long voyage et l'esprit libéré, jusqu'à un certain point, des soucis temporels, j'ai composé ce bréviaire' ('peregrinationis necessitatibus defatigatus et aliquatenus feriatu animo a curis temporalibus [...] hoc breviarium collegi'): *ACO*, II.5, pp. 98–99.

⁶² Victor, *Chronicon*, 145, dans CCSL, 173A, p. 48: 'Sed in quibus peccauit laetari non potuit, siquidem, postquam a catholicis sui concilii antistibus pro suis est preuaricationibus condemnatus, infelici morte extinguitur, que conquisierat fraude, fideliter a iudicibus auferuntur.'

⁶³ Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, p. 446.

⁶⁴ Rien n'indique qu'un concile se soit effectivement réuni pour prononcer une telle condamnation. Le mot désigne en effet couramment au VI^e siècle le corps épiscopal d'une province. D'autre part, Victor emploie le mot *preuaricatio* d'une manière tellement systématique qu'il peut recouvrir en fait à peu près tout.

⁶⁵ Cf. *supra* note 59.

⁶⁶ Victor n'évoque son sort et celui de Théodore qu'au paragraphe de sa *Chronique* correspondant à l'année 555 (*Chronicon*, 153, dans CCSL, 173A, p. 50: 'Victor Tunnensis ecclesie episco-

convocation tardive à Constantinople par Justinien, en 565, des mêmes et de 'Musicus, Brumasius, Donatus et Chrysonius, évêques d'Afrique' (le mot semble pris au sens large), qui tous maintinrent leur refus de ratifier les décisions du concile de 553 et furent pour cela emprisonnés dans des monastères de la capitale.⁶⁷ Ce schisme ne dut cependant guère durer, puisque le dernier témoignage en est l'*Epistula fidei catholicae* de l'irréductible Facundus d'Hermiane, bien datée de 568–569,⁶⁸ dans laquelle l'auteur ne fait plus référence à aucun de ses 'frères'.⁶⁹ A cette date, en effet, les mesures de clémence édictées par Justin II peu après son avènement étaient entrées en application: le nouvel empereur avait rappelé les exilés,⁷⁰ et comme il n'insistait plus sur les prises de position théologiques de son

pus huius auctor operis, post custodias simulque et plagas quas insulis est Valearicis perpressus nec non etiam in monasterio de Mandracum primo, ac secundo exilio Aegimuritanae insule, tertio Alexandriam una cum Theodoro Cebarsusitanee ecclesie episcopo, pro prefatorum trium capitulorum defensione exilio mittitur et carceris castelli Diocleciani post praetorianum carcerem truditur.' Mais il précise donc que son arrestation et sa déportation en Orient survinrent alors après des exils antérieurs, aux Baléares, dans un monastère de Carthage, et aux îles Egimures (Zembra). Ces premières sanctions, toutes situées à proximité de l'Afrique, montrent bien qu'il avait jusque-là toujours défendu les Trois Chapitres en Afrique même. La difficulté est de savoir si elles ont commencé dès 551, ou seulement après le concile de 553. Dans tous les cas, comme Cardelle de Hartmann ('Introducción', dans CCSL, 173A, pp. 95*–102* (pp. 99*–102*), il nous semble évident que la date donnée par la *Chronique* ne se rapporte qu'à la déportation en Orient.

⁶⁷ Victor, *Chronicon*, 169, dans CCSL, 173A, pp. 53–54: 'Musicus, Brumasius, Donatus et Crisonius episcopi de Affrica et Victor ac Theodorus episcopi similiter ex Egipto ad urbem regiam imperatoriali precepto euocantur. Qui, dum eidem Iustiniano principi presentes presenti et post ea Euticio regie urbis episcopo altercanti noue superstitioni resistunt, ab inuicem segregati per monasteria eiusdem urbis custodie mittuntur.'

⁶⁸ Cf. *Epistula fidei*, 2, 3, dans CCSL, 90A, p. 419: Facundus (s'il s'agit bien de lui: cf. *supra* note 9) dit écrire environ cent vingt ans après le concile de Chalcédoine et quinze ou seize ans après la soumission des 'trium capitulorum damnatores' 'iussionibus palatinis'. La référence étant ici très probablement le concile de Constantinople de 553, la date de l'œuvre doit être 568 ou 569.

⁶⁹ Il y joint au contraire à ses imprécations contre 'les prévaricateurs Vigile et Pélage' son ancien collègue 'Primasius le Byzacénien, principal docteur des Acéphales [...] ('Primasii Byzaceni praecipui doctoris Acephalorum')': Facundus, *Epistula fidei*, 7, dans CCSL, 90A, p. 420.

⁷⁰ La source la plus explicite est ici le poème *Ad Iustinum et Sophiam Augustos*, de Venance Fortunat (*Opera poetica*, éd. par Friedrich Leo, MGH, AA, 4.1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), pp. 275–78): 'Reddite vota deo, quoniam nova purpura quidquid / concilium statuit Calchedonense tenet. / [...] Exilio positi patres pro nomine Christi / tunc rediere sibi, cum diadema tibi. / Carcere laxati, residentes sede priore / esse ferunt unum te generale bonum. / [...] Thrax Italus Scythia Phryx Dacia Dalmata Thessalus Afer / quod patriam meruit nunc tibi vota facit.'

prédécesseur,⁷¹ beaucoup durent accepter l'offre de réintégration qui leur était faite.⁷² Il n'est plus question dès lors de partisans des Trois Chapitres en Afrique, et si Grégoire le Grand, près de trente ans plus tard, s'inquiète de la présence de 'donatistes' en Numidie, ceux-ci semblent bien n'avoir aucun rapport avec les adversaires de la politique impériale que Mocianus voulait confondre sous ce nom.⁷³

Le poids du passé

Les historiens de l'Eglise ont souvent considéré que le trait le plus notable du comportement des Africains durant cette crise fut la vigueur de leur résistance, 'fanatique' a-t-on même dit à propos de personnages comme Facundus d'Hermiane, Victor de Tunnuna ou l'abbé Félix.⁷⁴ Or, celle-ci était d'autant plus remarquable que, nous le disions en introduction, les relations entre les clercs africains et Justinien avaient été excellentes entre 533 et 544. Dès la victoire acquise, l'empereur, qui n'avait cessé de présenter sa guerre comme une croisade, avait en effet multiplié les faveurs à leur égard. Après une première loi de 534, qui ordonnait la restitution aux catholiques des biens et des objets sacrés saisis par les ariens, la nouvelle *De Africana ecclesia* du 1^{er} août 535 répéta plus formellement l'obligation immédiate de ces restitutions, et surtout interdit désormais tous les autres cultes en

⁷¹ Le chroniqueur Jean de Biclar écrit même, 'Qui Iustinus anno primo regni sui ea, que contra sinodum Calcidonensem fuerant comentata, destruxit': *Iohannis Biclarensis Chronicon*, dans CCSL, 173A, pp. 57–83 (p. 59). Sur ce texte et la politique religieuse de Justin II, cf. Averil Cameron, 'The Early Religious Policies of Justin II', *Studies in Church History*, 13 (1976), 51–67.

⁷² Nous suivons ici la conclusion de Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 681–83, fondée sur des textes que Diehl avait négligés.

⁷³ Nous ne rouvrons pas ici le débat sur le sens à donner alors au mot 'donatiste'. On ne peut absolument exclure que, comme Yvette Duval l'a envisagé à la suite de Robert A. Markus, le nom soit devenu 'quasi emblématique de la déviance en Afrique', et qu'il ait pu désigner aussi 'les opposants aux évêques nommés par Justinien pendant la querelle des trois chapitres': 'Grégoire et l'Eglise d'Afrique: Les "hommes du Pape"', dans *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo: XIX Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità, in collaborazione con l'Ecole française de Rome*, 2 tomes (Rome: Institutum Patristicum 'Augustinianum', 1991), I, 129–58 (p. 153). La faible résistance des Numides après 554–55, alors que Grégoire ne parle de donatisme que dans cette province, rend cependant très fragile cette hypothèse.

⁷⁴ Cf. ainsi Charles-Joseph von Hefele, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, nouvelle traduction française faite sur la 2^{me} éd. allemande, cor. et augm. de notes critiques et bibliographiques, par un religieux bénédictin de l'abbaye Saint-Michel de Farnborough, 11 tomes (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907–52), III.1, 145, n. 2, ou Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, p. 437.

Afrique: 'donatistes, juifs, païens, ariens et autres hérétiques se voyaient privés de tous leurs lieux de culte et interdits de l'exercice de toute fonction publique ('neque enim Iudaeos neque paganos neque Donatistas neque Arianos neque alios quoscumque haereticos vel speluncas habere vel quaedam quasi ritu ecclesiastico facere patimur').⁷⁵ En même temps probablement qu'il commençait à ordonner les distributions de fonds qui allaient permettre au pays de se couvrir de nouveaux édifices sacrés, Justinien avait ainsi accordé aux catholiques une victoire absolue sur tous leurs vieux adversaires, consolidant une alliance que l'Eglise, de son côté, n'avait eu de cesse de rechercher. Comme nous le verrons plus loin, comblés de faveurs, les évêques n'avaient pas hésité ensuite à faire appel à Justinien pour régler même des problèmes internes à l'institution ecclésiale, et notamment la question des prétentions de l'évêché de Carthage à diriger l'ensemble de l'épiscopat africain.

Comment dès lors expliquer, au regard d'une telle attitude, la rupture représentée par la crise des Trois Chapitres? Pour beaucoup d'historiens, par delà l'émotion incontestable provoquée par l'initiative impériale en 543-545, l'ampleur et la durée de la réaction africaine auraient eu d'autres causes, beaucoup plus anciennes. Elles s'inscriraient dans une 'tradition africaine' de dissidence, contre les interventions du pouvoir politique dans la vie de l'Eglise et contre les ingérences de la papauté en Afrique, qui avait déjà plusieurs siècles d'existence: 'The Church of Tertullian and Cyprian, the Church of Donatus and Parmenian, the Church of Ferrandus and Facundus, are all stamped with a common character,' écrivait ainsi Robert Markus il y a presque quarante ans, dans un article qui fit date.⁷⁶ D'autres, avant lui, avaient pareillement découvert des analogies jugées frappantes entre le donatisme, l'affaire des Trois Chapitres, mais aussi plus tard l'opposition au monothélisme impérial au temps de l'exarque Grégoire, et même le schisme kharidjite au VIII^e siècle.⁷⁷ La récurrence, au long des siècles, des situations de crise entre l'Eglise africaine et le pouvoir politique ou l'autorité pontificale, et les similitudes de comportement d'une époque à l'autre, sont certes

⁷⁵ *Novella* 37. 5-8, dans *Corpus Juris Civilis*, t. III: *Novellae*, éd. par Rudolf Schoell and Wilhelm Kroll (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), p. 245. Cf. sur les restitutions, Yves Modéran, 'L'établissement territorial des Vandales en Afrique', *Antiquité tardive*, 10 (2002), 87-122.

⁷⁶ Robert A. Markus, 'Reflections on Religious Dissent in North Africa in the Byzantine Period', *Studies in Church History*, 3 (1966) 140-49 (p. 149). L'article insiste beaucoup, peut-être un peu trop, sur les comparaisons faites par Mocianus entre donatistes et adversaires de la condamnation des Trois Chapitres: le thème, polémique, venait en effet des impériaux, non des Africains.

⁷⁷ Cf. Gabriel Camps, *Berbères: Aux marges de l'histoire* (Paris: Éditions des Hespérides, 1980), pp. 258-60.

frappantes, et elles ont fourni une réserve de textes et d'arguments toujours réutilisables: il suffit de noter l'usage fait par Facundus des références à Cyprien ou à Augustin, ou en sens inverse les comparaisons explicitement formulées par Moci-anus avec le donatisme. Mais on voit bien, sauf à retomber dans les ornières d'une histoire fondée sur les vieux concepts de la psychologie des peuples,⁷⁸ que ces comparaisons ne peuvent suffire à tout expliquer. Puisque les Africains ne songeaient nullement à leur tradition de dissidence dans les années 533–543, ce sont bien aussi en effet des facteurs spécifiques qui les ont alors fait bouger.

Pour découvrir ceux-ci, force est de revenir au discours des intéressés, et aux arguments qu'ils développèrent dans les années 544–569. Certains n'étaient pas d'ordre théologique, et notamment le refus des ingérences impériales dans la définition du dogme, et plus largement dans la direction de l'Eglise. Le thème, déjà développé par Ferrandus dans sa lettre VII,⁷⁹ est ainsi fortement repris à la fin du *Pro defensione* de Facundus, pour qui l'empereur, *unus laicus*, ne doit jamais usurper l'autorité sur l'Eglise, qui appartient aux évêques seuls:⁸⁰ 'sa charge allait à exécuter les canons de l'Eglise, non point à les fixer ou les transgresser'.⁸¹ L'idée n'était pas nouvelle en Occident, notamment depuis Léon le Grand et la fameuse lettre de Gélase à Anastase en 494.⁸² Il serait aisé de lui trouver aussi des

⁷⁸ Cf. à titre d'exemple sur ce point les 'Conclusions' pour le moins pittoresques de Henri Leclercq, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, 2 tomes (Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1904), II, 324–42 (notamment p. 326: 'toute l'histoire de la race africaine se résume dans une qualité exaspérée jusqu'à en faire un défaut: l'esprit d'indépendance poussé jusqu'à l'indiscipline'; ibid. pp. 333–34: '[ici] les hérésies spéculatives végètent. Au contraire les schismes réussissent et enflamment tout le monde, car un schisme c'est encore un mouvement séparatiste et, en religion comme en politique, les Africains sont sécessionnistes.')

⁷⁹ Ferrandus, *Ep.* 7, *PL*, 67, cols 928–50.

⁸⁰ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, XII, 3. 14–37, dans CCSL, 90A, pp. 384–89, avec le célèbre rappel à Justinien de l'histoire du roi Ozias dans la Bible (II *Chroniques* 26).

⁸¹ '[...] ecclesiasticorum canonum executor [...], non conditor, non exactor': Facundus, *Pro defensione*, XII, 3. 3, dans CCSL, 90A, p. 381. La traduction est empruntée ici à Leclercq, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, II, 264.

⁸² Gélase I^{er}, *Ep.* 12, dans *Epistolae Romanorum pontificum genuinae et quae ad eos scriptae sunt*, t. I: *A S. Hilario usque ad Pelagium II*, éd. par Andreas Thiel (Braunsberg: Eduard Peter, 1867–68), pp. 350–52; cf. *Ep.* 1 (aux évêques orientaux, en 488), dans *Epistolae Romanorum pontificum*, I, 292–93: 'Et si vous me dites "Mais l'empereur est universel", je pourrai répondre à l'empereur, sans vouloir l'offenser, qu'il est un fils et non un hiérarque de l'Eglise: en matière de religion, il lui convient de s'instruire, et non d'enseigner' ('quod si dixeris: sed imperator catholicus est; salva pace ipsius dixerimus, filius est, non praesul Ecclesiae: quod ad religionem competit,

précédents africains anciens. Mais elle avait, depuis un siècle, pris ici une valeur tout particulière: la persécution vandale, et notamment en 484 l'édit d'Hunéric qui avait suivi la pseudo-conférence contradictoire avec les ariens, avaient démontré en effet de manière dramatique toutes les conséquences d'une intervention du pouvoir politique dans la définition de ce qui devait être cru.⁸³ Le sujet était devenu un des principes les plus chers aux catholiques d'Afrique, que Fulgence de Ruspe⁸⁴ avait nettement reformulé au temps du roi vandale Thrasamund (496–523). S'il revint brusquement au premier plan à partir de 543–545, c'est cependant d'abord parce que c'était la nature même de l'intervention impériale qui était contestée.

Or, dans celle-ci, par delà de complexes détails historiques et théologiques que tous ne connaissaient pas, un principe surtout semblait attaqué, qui transcendait l'objet du débat et le rendait vain: le respect de l'autorité des conciles œcuméniques dans la définition du dogme. Cet attachement intransigeant aux textes conciliaires rythme ainsi toute l'argumentation de la réponse de Ferrandus aux diacres romains en 545, avec des conséquences clairement énoncées en matière de définition de l'autorité doctrinale: 'Tout le concile de Chalcédoine, parce que le concile de Chalcédoine est un tout, est vrai; aucune de ses parties ne se prête à la critique, tout ce qui y est dit et enregistré, nous le reconnaissons comme jugé et affirmé, la secrète et ineffable puissance du Saint Esprit a agi [...] Qu'y aurait-il de solide si ce que le concile de Chalcédoine a établi était mis en doute?'⁸⁵ Comme l'a noté Robert Eno, 'Ferrandus is approaching the point at which the general council is in itself an organ of doctrinal authority which cannot be questioned or

discere ei convenit non docere'). Sur tout ceci, cf. Gilbert Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre: Etude sur le 'césaropapisme' byzantin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), pp. 309–12.

⁸³ Cf. Modéran, 'L'Afrique et la persécution vandale', pp. 247–78.

⁸⁴ Cf. ainsi Fulgence, *De veritate praedestinationis et gratiae*, II, 39, dans *Opera*, éd. par J. Fraipont, 2 tomes, CCSL, 91–91A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), 91A, pp. 458–548 (p. 517, lignes 955–66): 'Clementissimus quoque imperator non ideo est vas misericordiae praeparatum in gloriam [...] si in imperiali culmine recta fide vivat, et vera cordis humilitate praeditus culmen regiae dignitatis sanctae religioni subiciat [...], si prae omnibus se sanctae matris Ecclesiae catholicae meminerit filium [...]'.
⁸⁵ Ferrandus, *Ep.* 6, *PL*, 67, cols 923 et 925: 'totum concilium Chalcedonense, cum est totum concilium Chalcedonense, verum est; nulla pars illius habet ullam reprehensionem, quidquid ibi dictum, gestum, iudicatum novimus atque firmatum, sancti Spiritus operata est ineffabilis et secreta potentia [...]. Quid erat firmum, si quod statuit Chalcedonense concilium vocatur in dubium?'

reconsidered because such a structure is authoritative in itself,⁸⁶ et la même thèse se retrouve tout au long du *Pro defensione* de Facundus, où le mot *orthodoxia*, qui lui est associé, revient sans cesse:⁸⁷ ‘Quel besoin de remettre en question, non seulement contre le respect dû à la religion mais même contre la pudeur due à l’humanité, les décrets de ce synode [Chalcédoine] qui, dans l’accord de toute l’Eglise, pendant près de cent ans, et sous ta garde aussi, sont demeurés inviolés jusque-là?’⁸⁸

Certes, ainsi que Manlio Simonetti et Maria G. Bianco l’ont noté,⁸⁹ comme l’opposition aux ingérences impériales, le refus des innovations susceptibles de contredire la tradition des Pères était commun aux Occidentaux en général: tout avait été dit au fond sur ce sujet depuis saint Ambroise,⁹⁰ et Facundus d’Hermiane le montre d’ailleurs bien, en le citant.⁹¹ Mais leur passé récent influença probablement beaucoup, ici aussi, les Africains. L’idée qu’en matière de doctrine, seule la tradition des Pères, exprimée notamment dans les conciles, énonçait la vérité, et qu’aucune discussion ni aucun compromis n’étaient envisageables, avait été en effet un des leitmotiv de leur polémique contre les ariens à l’époque vandale, et elle était devenue pour eux une règle absolue. C’est ce que disait déjà clairement, pour une autre affaire, Capreolus de Carthage dans sa lettre au Concile d’Ephèse en 430, alors qu’il était bloqué en Afrique par l’invasion germanique:

Si quelque innovation peut-être a surgi récemment, il est nécessaire de l’examiner pour que ou bien on l’admette et l’approuve, ou bien on la condamne et puisse la repousser. Mais au sujet des choses qui ont été déjà depuis longtemps jugées, si quelqu’un permet qu’elles soient appelées à une seconde discussion, il paraîtra ne rien faire d’autre que de douter au sujet de la foi qui a eu force de loi jusqu’à ce jour. En outre, pour l’exemple de

⁸⁶ Eno, ‘Doctrinal Authority in the African Ecclesiology’, p. 100.

⁸⁷ Pas moins de soixante-quinze occurrences par exemple pour les seuls livres V–VII du *Pro defensione*, SC, 479. De manière générale, Facundus est de loin l’auteur qui use le plus de ce terme parmi l’ensemble des Pères de l’Eglise.

⁸⁸ ‘Quid opus erat eiusdem synodi retractare decreta, non solum contra religionis reuerentiam, sed etiam contra ipsius humanitatis pudorem, quae consensu totius Ecclesiae per centum ferme annos, etiam te custode, hactenus inuiolata manserunt?’, *Pro defensione*, II, 1. 6, SC, 471, pp. 268–69.

⁸⁹ Manlio Simonetti, ‘*Haereticum non facit ignorantia*: una nota su Facondo di Ermiane e la sua difesa dei Tre capitoli’, *Orpheus*, n. s., 1 (1980), 76–105 (p. 94); *Verecundi Iuncensis Carmen de paenitentia*, ‘Introduzione’, p. 19.

⁹⁰ Rappelons seulement le *De fide ad Gratianum Augustum*, I, 5, inséré dans les Actes du Concile d’Ephèse (431) (*ACO*, I.1.2, p. 41): ‘Sileant igitur inanes de sermonibus quaestiones.’

⁹¹ Ainsi dans Facundus, *Pro defensione*, I, 5. 12–14, SC, 471, pp. 228–30.

la postérité, pour que ce qui est aujourd'hui défini sur la foi catholique puisse obtenir une confirmation stable, il faut que ce qui a été déjà défini par les Pères soit maintenu.⁹²

Ce principe fut souvent répété,⁹³ et on comprend aisément que Ferrandus de Carthage ait pris la peine, assurément avant l'arrivée des Byzantins, de composer une *Breviatio canonum*.⁹⁴ Il finit par être invoqué même pour régler des conflits internes aux catholiques, comme en 523 lorsque Bonifatius de Carthage y fit référence pour trancher le différent opposant l'abbé Pierre et le primat de Byzacène Liberatus.⁹⁵ Quel que soit le sujet, le respect à la lettre des textes conciliaires avait acquis ici une valeur encore plus sacrée qu'ailleurs: le sang des martyrs d'Hunéric les rendait absolument intouchables.

Or cette conviction pesa d'autant plus que beaucoup de ceux qui entrèrent dans le combat contre la condamnation des Trois Chapitres avaient souvent directement vécu la lutte contre les ariens. La prosopographie, souvent négligée dans cette histoire,⁹⁶ parle ici d'elle-même. Pontianus de Thèna, qui en 544 ou 545 répondit le premier à l'empereur, siégeait probablement déjà au concile de Junci

⁹² Lettre au Concile d'Ephèse (*ACO*, I.2, pp. 64–65): 'si quid forte noviter exortum est quaestionis, necesse est aut acceptum probetur aut condemnatum possit discerni; haec autem de quibus iam pridem iudicatum est, si aliquis dimiserit ad secundam conlocutionem vocari, nihil aliud videbitur siquidem de fide quam hactenus tenuit, ipse ambigere. Deinde et propter posteriorum exemplum, ut haec quae nunc pro catholica fide definita sunt, habere possint perpetuam firmitatem, haec quae iam a patribus sunt definita, custodienda sunt': *Ephèse et Chalcédoine, Actes des conciles*, éd. et trad. par A. J. Festugière (Paris: Beauchesne, 1982), p. 246.

⁹³ On notera cependant que Fulgence de Ruspe, du moins dans les œuvres qui lui sont attribuées avec certitude, tout en définissant deux sources de la foi, l'Écriture et la Tradition des Pères (par exemple dans la réponse aux moines scythes, 'canonicorum sancta auctoritate uoluminum, paternorum quoque dictorum doctrina atque institutione [...]': *Ep.* 17. 1, dans CCSL, 91A, pp. 563–615 (p. 564), ne cite jamais explicitement les conciles œcuméniques).

⁹⁴ *Ferrandi Ecclesiae Carthaginensis Diaconi Breviatio canonum*, dans CCSL, 149, pp. 284–311. Le dernier concile pris en considération est celui de Junci en 523.

⁹⁵ *Conc. Carthag. a. 525*, dans CCSL, 149, pp. 255–82 (pp. 277–78): 'Neque enim poterimus statuta mutare, quae per tot sacerdotes instinctu divino servata noscuntur. Si enim admiserimus, ea quae antea constituta sunt in retractationem vocari, nihil in divinis humanisque actibus, nihil in sacris publicisque rebus obtinere ullam poterit firmitatem.'

⁹⁶ On ne pourra, au passage, que déplorer l'arrêt à la date de 533 de la *Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne*, dirigée par Mandouze. La publication d'un supplément consacré à l'Afrique byzantine, qui ne constituerait pas un volume énorme, est plus que jamais souhaitable: il mettrait certainement encore mieux en valeur le fait que la plupart des protagonistes africains de la crise des Trois Chapitres avaient connu l'époque du pouvoir arien.

en 523, organisé aussitôt après l'avènement du roi Hildéric et le rappel des exilés;⁹⁷ Ferrandus de Carthage, consulté en 545 par les diacres romains, avait été l'ami et le second de Fulgence de Ruspe, et il était peut-être moine à ses côtés dès son premier exil en Sardaigne, au cours des années 510;⁹⁸ Firmus, primat de Numidie, qui céda aux injonctions impériales à Constantinople en 551 ou 552, était déjà évêque de Tipasa en 525 lors du concile de Carthage;⁹⁹ le primat de Byzacène Boethius, trop âgé pour répondre à la convocation de 550, signait à la fin des années 510 la réponse des exilés africains aux moines scythes qui les avaient consultés;¹⁰⁰ et Mocianus, le propagandiste zélé de Justinien au début des années 550, faisait partie, vingt ans avant, de ces Africains que la mission arienne avait conquis.¹⁰¹ D'autres, comme Primasius d'Hadrumète,¹⁰² Victor de Tunnuna,¹⁰³ ou Facundus d'Hermiane n'étaient peut-être encore à l'époque de Thrasamund que des étudiants, mais ils avaient assurément partagé la même expérience du pouvoir arien.

⁹⁷ *Conc. Carthag. a. 525*, dans CCL, 149, p. 277, ligne 181 (sous la forme *Ponticanus*).

⁹⁸ Mandouze, *Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne*, pp. 447–50. La présence de Ferrandus auprès de Fulgence en Sardaigne dès les années 510 est subordonnée à l'identification du personnage avec l'auteur de la *Vita Fulgentii*, généralement admise, mais contestée par Antonino Isola, 'Sulla paternità della *Vita Fulgentii*', *Vetera christianorum*, 23 (1986), 63–71.

⁹⁹ *Subscriptio 5, Conc. Carthag. a. 525*, dans CCL, 149, p. 271: 'Firmus episcopus plebis Tipasensis, legatus prouinciae Numidiaie'.

¹⁰⁰ Fulgence, *Epp.* 16 (lettre des moines scythes: CCL, 91A, pp. 551–62) et 17 (réponse: CCL, 91A, pp. 563–615): le nom indiqué, Boethos, est certainement identique à celui de Boethius, comme le signale Mandouze, *Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne*, p. 146. Boethius ne devint primat de Byzacène qu'après 542, date à laquelle Datianus est encore mentionné.

¹⁰¹ Facundus, *Contra Mocianum*, 64, dans CCL, 90A, p. 415: 'iste [...] qui Vandalis regnantibus Arianus fuit'.

¹⁰² Hadrumète s'appelait à l'époque vandale *Huniricopolis*, siège de l'évêque Servusdei en 525: l'élection de Primasius est donc postérieure (*Subscriptio 52, Conc. Carthag. a. 525*, dans CCL, 149, p. 272). On notera que Junillus, l'ami de Primasius (cf. *infra* notes 113–14), Africain lui-même, avait aussi échangé une correspondance avec Fulgence de Ruspe, à l'époque vandale donc (Fulgentius, *Ep.* 7, dans CCL, 91, p. 245).

¹⁰³ Un évêque nommé Optatus, 'episcopus plebis Tonnonensis', participa au concile de Carthage en 525 et paraît bien, sur ce siège de Proconsulaire, avoir été le prédécesseur de Victor: *Subscriptio 60, Conc. Carthag. a. 525*, dans CCL, 149, p. 272. Cf. *Notitia provinciarum et civitatum Africae*, de 484: *Proconsularis*, n° 21, *Cresconius Tonnonensis*: à consulter désormais dans *Histoire de la persécution vandale en Afrique*, éd. et trad. par Lancel, pp. 223–72 et notes pp. 339–83 (p. 253). Sur le problème des graphies *Tunnuna* ou *Tonnona*, cf. Cardelle de Hartmann, 'Introducción', CCL, 173A, pp. 97*–98*.

Pour tous, ce temps avait été celui de la persécution, qui avait pris, certes, des formes diverses depuis Genséric,¹⁰⁴ mais s'était toujours accompagnée d'une mission arienne cherchant à convertir les Africains, notamment en Proconsulaire. A cette entreprise de conversion, il avait fallu opposer une théologie de combat, fondée sur une argumentation approfondie.¹⁰⁵ N'hésitant pas à affronter leurs adversaires dans le détail de leurs thèses, Quodvultdeus dans les années 440–450, Vigile de Thapse dans les années 480, et Fulgence de Ruspe jusqu'en 533 avaient donc été amenés à réaffirmer point par point les principes du dogme nicéen, et cette réflexion, qui n'était pas restée au niveau de la simple polémique, avait fait d'eux, ce qui est souvent oublié, à leur manière des experts des débats trinitaires.¹⁰⁶ Certes, ils ne songeaient pas à discuter encore des écrits de Théodore de Mopsueste ou de ce qui agitait spécifiquement les Orientaux au temps de Zénon et d'Anastase, mais ils en vinrent à prendre position sur des questions qui dépassaient le conflit avec l'arianisme. Vigile de Thapse écrivit ainsi un traité *Adversus Eutychetem*,¹⁰⁷ et Fulgence de Ruspe eut à de nombreuses reprises l'occasion d'affirmer les

¹⁰⁴ En Proconsulaire, dès les années 440, tous les biens de l'Eglise avaient été confisqués et les basiliques saisies ou fermées; après 457, les ordinations épiscopales furent prohibées, et le culte interdit de manière continue jusqu'en 523. Dans les autres provinces, les évêques étaient au début surveillés, et seulement expulsés s'ils dénonçaient les agissements du pouvoir. Mais sous Thrasamund (496–523), leur sort s'était aggravé: le roi avait interdit le remplacement des évêques décedés, et devant la désobéissance des catholiques, il avait exilé cent vingt de ceux qui étaient encore en exercice. Le pire moment avait été la fin du règne de Hunéric, en 484, lorsque le roi avait ordonné la conversion obligatoire de tous les Africains à l'arianisme, déclenchant ainsi une vague de violence et suscitant des martyres, comme celui de Laetus, évêque de Nepta. L'édit de conversion fut suspendu après la mort du roi, mais l'Eglise arienne ne renonça pas à son action missionnaire, notamment en Afrique Proconsulaire, en entretenant par là une atmosphère de guerre de religion, qui se prolongea même après la décision prise par le roi Hildéric, en 523, de rappeler les exilés et d'autoriser la liberté de culte.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. sur ce sujet Yves Modéran, 'Une guerre de religion: les deux Eglises d'Afrique à l'époque vandale', *Antiquité tardive*, 11 (2003), 21–44.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. par exemple le dossier des 'cinq questions' de Ferrandus à Fulgence de Ruspe (*Ep.* 13, dans CCSL, 91, pp. 385–87), où la discussion trinitaire est poussée au-delà des habituelles objections ariennes.

¹⁰⁷ Vigile de Thapse, *Contra Eutychetem libri quinque*, PL, 62, cols 95–154. Si la paternité de Vigile est parfois contestée pour d'autres œuvres, on reconnaît en général qu'il est bien l'auteur de ce traité: cf. Sara Petri, 'Il Contro Eutiche di Vigilio di Tapso e il suo tempo', dans *Africa cristiana: Storia, religione, letteratura*, éd. par Marcello Marin et Claudio Moreschini (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2002), pp. 255–68, qui propose une datation de l'œuvre entre 470 et 482.

deux natures du Christ en se référant au concile de Chalcédoine,¹⁰⁸ sujet sur lequel il revint encore en répondant aux questions des moines scythes.¹⁰⁹ En ce domaine aussi, les Africains avaient donc acquis une expérience qui, en 543–45, était encore toute fraîche. Certes, il est incontestable que beaucoup d’entre eux ne connaissaient pas les textes condamnés par Justinien, par ignorance pure ou parce qu’ils étaient en grec:¹¹⁰ ‘très peu de leurs oeuvres nous sont parvenues jusqu’à présent’, disait ainsi Pontianus en 544–45, tandis que Liberatus, plus de dix ans plus tard, expliquait qu’il avait composé son *Breviarium* ‘à partir d’une histoire ecclésiastique récemment traduite du grec en latin, et des actes des conciles et des lettres des Pères, en réunissant ces choses du passé que j’ai reçues d’Alexandrie en grec’, avec l’intention de l’offrir ‘de bon cœur à mes frères catholiques qui ne les connaissent pas et veulent lire les textes de ces hérésies’.¹¹¹ Mais cette méconnaissance des textes précisément condamnés n’impliquait nullement, comme on le dit parfois, une incompréhension de ce qui était en question: la longue résistance menée contre les ariens avait favorisé les études et les lectures théologiques des moines et du clergé africain, et fortifié leurs convictions nicéennes.¹¹² Et leurs chefs n’étaient certainement pas démunis au moment de la reconquête. Primasius d’Hadrumète, auteur d’un long commentaire sur l’Apocalypse, était le commanditaire dès 542 des *Instituta regularia divinae legis* de Junillus,¹¹³ un manuel où il est

¹⁰⁸ Ainsi dans le troisième livre de l’*Ad Thrasamundum libri III* (CCSL, 91, pp. 97–185), dans le *Liber de Trinitate ad Felicem* (CCSL, 91A, pp. 633–46) ou *De fide ad Petrum* (CCSL, 91A, pp. 711–60). Cf. Bernhard Nisters, *Die Christologie des hl. Fulgentius von Ruspe* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1930).

¹⁰⁹ Fulgence, *Epp.* 16 et 17, CCSL, 91A, pp. 551–62, 563–615 (*supra*, note 100).

¹¹⁰ A l’exception de Facundus, rien n’indique que les protagonistes africains de la crise aient eu accès aux textes originaux de la controverse. Primasius d’Hadrumète qui utilise pour son *Commentaire sur l’Apocalypse* une Bible africaine et s’appuie sur saint Augustin et le donatiste Tyconius, ne donne guère d’indices pour prouver qu’il savait le grec. Il en est de même pour Ferrandus, qui dans sa *Breviatio canonum* (*supra*, note 94) utilise une version latine espagnole des actes des conciles grecs.

¹¹¹ Liberatus, *Breviarium causae*, ACO, II.5, pp. 98–99: ‘duarum heresum, hoc est Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum ex ecclesiastica historia nuper de Graeco in Latinum translata et ex gestis synodalibus vel sanctorum patrum epistulis hoc breviarium collegi [. . .]. Libenter offero catholicis fratribus ignorantibus acta ipsarum heresum et legere volentibus’.

¹¹² De manière générale, on ne doit pas oublier que de nombreux clercs africains s’enfuirent à Constantinople durant la persécution vandale, et qu’un réseau, dont l’action fut évidente en 533, s’était ainsi établi dans la capitale.

¹¹³ L’édition de référence était jusqu’il y a peu celle de Heinrich Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten: nebst einer kritischen Textausgabe von des letzteren Instituta*

déjà beaucoup question des problèmes christologiques que devait soulever l'empereur peu après.¹¹⁴ La virtuosité et l'abondance des citations de Facundus, qui savait le grec, ne sont pas non plus concevables sans une longue formation antérieure. Et, pour ne prendre que cet exemple, il n'est probablement pas anodin que Pontianus, dès 544–45, en réagissant au premier message impérial, songe aussitôt à 'l'hérésie eutychienne', sur laquelle son compatriote Vigile de Thapse, plus d'un demi-siècle avant, avait vigoureusement pris position en défendant le concile de Chalcédoine.¹¹⁵

L'expérience de la lutte contre les Vandales, que beaucoup avaient vécue, fut donc décisive selon nous, à la fois dans la spontanéité et la vigueur de la réaction des clercs africains à la condamnation des Trois Chapitres. Le souvenir de la persécution fut d'ailleurs rappelé de diverses manières durant la crise. Certes, personne ne semble être allé jusqu'à comparer explicitement Justinien à un roi vandale, mais l'idée n'en semble pas très éloignée chez Victor de Tunnuna, lorsque, aux dernières lignes de sa chronique, mentionnant la mort de Théodore de Cebarsussi, un des Africains poursuivis par l'empereur, il ajoute, manifestement non sans arrière-pensées: 'il fut enterré près des martyrs d'Hunéric [...]'.¹¹⁶ Ce

regularia divinae legis (Fribourg en Brisgau: Herder'sche, 1880). Cf. maintenant le livre de Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*.

¹¹⁴ Traditionnellement, on identifiait le personnage nommé Paul le Perse, que Junillus reconnaît comme son inspirateur, avec Paul de Nisibis, lui-même très influencé par Théodore de Mopsueste, et on voyait dans les *Instituta* un manuel proche, par anticipation, de ce que fut la position des Africains ensuite, d'autant que Junillus, questeur du Palais, était lui-même un Africain: cf. Ernest Stein, 'Deux questeurs de Justinien et l'emploi des langues dans ses nouvelles', *Académie royale de Belgique: Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, 23 (1937), 365–90. Mais dans deux études récentes, Michael Maas est revenu sur cette thèse, et a conclu à une identité des positions de Junillus avec celles de Justinien, estimant même que les *Instituta* légitimaient le droit de l'empereur à intervenir en matière doctrinale: cf. *Exegesis and Empire*, 'Introduction', pp. 1–115, et 'Junillus Africanus' *Instituta regularia divinae legis* in its Justinianic Context', dans *The Sixth Century, End or Beginning?*, éd. par Pauline Allen et Elizabeth Jeffreys (Brisbane: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1996), pp. 131–44 (pp. 143–44). Nous ne pouvons cependant pas suivre Maas quand il rapproche, dans cet article (p. 136), les positions de Junillus de celles de Primasius dans la crise des Trois Chapitres, dans la mesure où Primasius fut longtemps, jusqu'en 554, un opposant aux édits impériaux (l'idée est répétée de manière implicite dans *Exegesis and Empire*, p. 10).

¹¹⁵ Pontianus, *Epistola ad Justinianum*, PL, 67, cols 995–98 (col. 998): 'timeo [...] ne sub obtentu damnationis istorum Eutychiana haeresis erigatur'. Rien n'autorise à mettre en doute chez l'auteur une bonne connaissance de cette hérésie, qu'il avait dû acquérir en lisant Vigile.

¹¹⁶ Victor, *Chronicon*, 173, dans CCSL, 173A, p. 54: 'Theodorus Cebarsussitanus episcopus defensor trium capitulorum exilio apud urbem regiam eo mense et die quo Iustinianus moritur

passé était trop récent pour ne pas occuper tous les esprits, et l'erreur de Justinien fut probablement de l'avoir sous-estimé.

Un contexte politique déterminant

Il sous-estima probablement aussi le désenchantement qu'avait suscité son administration en Afrique, que l'Eglise ne pouvait ignorer, et qui créa un contexte politique favorable à la rébellion. Averil Cameron, dans un article pionnier de 1982, a beaucoup insisté sur cet aspect de la crise des Trois Chapitres, en considérant qu'il joua un rôle de détonateur face à un malaise latent depuis déjà de nombreuses années.¹¹⁷ Deux problèmes majeurs durent effectivement prédisposer les esprits au mécontentement.

Le premier était le rétablissement d'une fiscalité plus efficacement prélevée qu'au temps des Vandales. Certes, les propriétaires romains avaient continué à payer des impôts aux rois ariens, mais pendant près d'un siècle les recensements n'avaient plus été effectués, de même que les révisions cadastrales. Or, dès le printemps 534, l'empereur expédia en Afrique pour y redéfinir les impôts deux censiteurs, Tryphon et Eustratios, dont l'action, selon Procope, fut vite jugée insupportable¹¹⁸. Même s'il n'y eut peut-être pas un accroissement des taux de prélèvement,¹¹⁹ les Africains eurent aussitôt l'impression d'un alourdissement de la pression fiscale, qui fut vite aggravée par diverses maladresses du gouvernement. Après avoir décidé la restitution intégrale des terres jadis confisquées par les Vandales, Justinien avait en effet fortement restreint la portée de cette mesure par la nouvelle XXXVI le 1er janvier 535, en en excluant les biens perdus par les

et iuxta confessores quibus Ugnericus Vuandalorum rex linguas absiderat sepelitur.' Il s'agit des célèbres martyrs de Tipasa de Maurétanie, qui après avoir eu la langue coupée en 484, s'enfuirent à Constantinople et y retrouvèrent miraculeusement la parole.

¹¹⁷ Averil Cameron, 'Byzantine Africa: The Literary Evidence', dans *Excavations at Carthage*, t. VII, éd. par J. H. Humphrey (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan, 1982), pp. 29–62 (p. 45): '[it] was an expression of the discomfort felt by many Roman Africans on realising how much the reconquest was going to interfere with their lives and indeed bring all the disadvantages of actual and dangerous warfare'.

¹¹⁸ Procope, *Guerre vandale*, II, 8. 25, *Procopius: History of the Wars*, 3–4, p. 278.

¹¹⁹ Dans les *Anekdotai*, XVIII, 10, Procope parle d'un alourdissement des impôts eux-mêmes, qui reste cependant difficile à vérifier (*Procopius: The Anekdotai or Secret History*, éd. par Henry Bronson Dewing, vol. VI, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1954), p. 214).

bisaïeux et trisaïeux des Africains libérés, c'est-à-dire en fait la majorité de ceux qui avaient été saisis par Genséric en 439–440, qu'il fit désormais au contraire enregistrer comme biens de l'Etat ou de la maison impériale.¹²⁰ D'autre part, alors même qu'une fiscalité exigeante était rétablie, il sembla ne pas en affecter le produit à ce qui pouvait le mieux la justifier aux yeux des Africains, l'entretien de son armée: au printemps 536, en partie parce qu'ils ne touchaient pas leur solde,¹²¹ de nombreux soldats byzantins se mutinèrent, déclenchant, sous la conduite de Stotzas, une guerre qui se poursuivit jusqu'en 537.¹²² L'année suivante, une autre révolte éclata, pour les mêmes raisons,¹²³ et celles-ci furent encore pour partie à l'origine de la troisième et de la plus grave des mutineries de l'armée, celle de Guntarith à la fin de 545.¹²⁴

Ces troubles apparurent d'autant plus scandaleux¹²⁵ qu'ils coïncidèrent avec une longue série d'insurrections maures, qui commencèrent dès le printemps 534, et prirent presque immédiatement la suite des soulèvements qui avaient affecté le royaume vandale. Les tribus conduites alors par Cusina et trois autres chefs ravagèrent la Byzacène, avant d'être vaincues en 535. La Numidie fut touchée au même moment par les attaques du chef de l'Aurès, Iaudas, qui ne fut contraint à la fuite qu'en 539. Surtout, tout fut remis en cause à partir de la fin 543,

¹²⁰ Cf. Modéran, 'L'établissement territorial des Vandales en Afrique', surtout pp. 112–18.

¹²¹ La volonté de certains soldats de conserver les biens de leurs épouses vandales, et la colère d'auxiliaires barbares contre les mesures anti-ariennes jouèrent aussi un rôle, et sont d'abord évoquées par Procope dans sa présentation des causes du soulèvement (*Guerre vandale*, II, 14. 8–15, *Procopius: History of the Wars*, 3–4, pp. 328–30). Mais plus loin, Stotzas dans un discours à ses hommes, met surtout en avant les soldes impayées et depuis longtemps dues (*Guerre vandale*, II, 15. 55, *Procopius: History of the Wars*, 3–4, p. 352).

¹²² Stotzas fut vaincu en 537, mais il parvint à s'enfuir en Maurétanie. Il en revint en 544 pour s'unir à la révolte maure, jusqu'à sa mort au combat en 546.

¹²³ C'est la révolte à Carthage de Maximinos, contre le patrice Germanos, alors général en chef, qui commença, selon Procope, par un attroupement de soldats accusant le fisc de leur devoir depuis trop longtemps leur solde (*Guerre vandale*, II, 18. 9, *Procopius: History of the Wars*, 3–4, p. 372).

¹²⁴ Selon Procope, *Guerre vandale*, II, 26. 10 (*Procopius: History of the Wars*, 3–4, p. 430), Guntarith (Gontaris) prépara sa mutinerie en dénonçant d'abord ouvertement le refus du patrice Ariobindus, envoyé spécial de Justinien, de payer leur solde aux soldats.

¹²⁵ Un bon exemple de l'importance accordée à ces mutineries est le fait que Victor de Tununa comme Marcellinus comes, dans les passages de leurs chroniques consacrés aux révoltes en Afrique entre 534 et 548, ne mentionnent que Stotzas, et jamais Antalas, Cusina ou les *Laguatan*, pourtant les protagonistes essentiels des insurrections. (La mort de Solomon chez Victor est ainsi la conséquence d'une victoire de Stotzas: *Chronicon*, 131, dans CCSL, 173A, p. 44.)

lorsqu'éclata, largement par la faute du gouverneur de Tripolitaine Sergios, une révolte de deux grandes tribus de Tripolitaine, les *Austuriani* et les *Laguatan*, qui entraînèrent bientôt dans leur mouvement le principal chef maure de Byzacène, Antalas, avant de faciliter le retour de Iaudas dans l'Aurès. L'insurrection prit alors une ampleur jamais vue à l'époque vandale, qui fut encore aggravée par son rapprochement avec Stotzas et les survivants de la mutinerie de 536. Une immense coalition se forma, qui vainquit et tua le général en chef Solomon, parvint au début de 546 aux portes de Carthage, et pendant trois ans ravagea le pays, jusqu'à ce que le meilleur général de Justinien, Jean Troglita, réussisse à la disloquer en 548 et à ramener la paix.¹²⁶ Ces événements dramatiques, aggravés en 543-44 par l'épidémie de peste, frappèrent tous les Africains, laïcs et clercs. Or, ils furent exactement contemporains de la première phase de la crise des Trois Chapitres, de l'arrivée de la première lettre de Justinien (544?) au *Iudicatum* extorqué au pape contre l'avis de Facundus d'Hermiane et de ses compatriotes présents dans la capitale. Certes, les troubles cessèrent après l'été 548, mais les positions des défenseurs des Trois Chapitres étaient alors déjà clairement établies, et il est difficile de ne pas envisager qu'elles furent influencées par le contexte des cinq années précédentes. L'incapacité à résoudre le problème maure avait été en effet, aux yeux de leurs sujets, le principal échec des rois vandales. Bien plus que le règlement de la question religieuse, c'est la solution de ce problème qui était attendue des Byzantins après leur reconquête.¹²⁷ Mais au lieu de ce retour à l'ordre qui seul justifiait la pression fiscale, les Africains romanisés virent leur existence et leurs biens plus menacés qu'auparavant. Et c'est dans ce contexte d'échec patent de sa mission principale que Justinien se mit à rouvrir une obscure querelle religieuse, prenant le risque d'affaiblir un pays déjà au bord de l'effondrement. L'incompréhension dut être totale, et, sans évidemment être la cause du refus de l'initiative théologique impériale, elle contribua probablement pour beaucoup au rassemblement immédiat du clergé, et peut-être des laïcs, derrière les évêques contestataires.

Mais il y eut encore plus grave. Devant l'incapacité de l'armée byzantine, jusqu'à l'arrivée de Jean Troglita, face à la révolte, le clergé africain s'impliqua en effet directement dans la guerre et se substitua à plusieurs reprises aux fonc-

¹²⁶ Sur tous ces événements, cf. Modéran, *Les Maures et l'Afrique romaine*.

¹²⁷ Et c'est ce qui explique le silence de Corippe sur la persécution vandale dans la *Johannide*, comme l'a souligné M. Cesa, 'La pacificazione della Libia nella "Iohannis" di Corippo', *Civiltà classica e cristiana*, 6 (1985), 77-88: le poète, décidé à défendre la politique byzantine face aux Maures, savait que revenir sur le thème d'un Justinien libérateur et mettant fin à la persécution vandale ne faisait plus recette auprès de ses compatriotes vers 550.

tionnaires ou aux militaires. En 545, c'est un prêtre nommé Paul qui prit ainsi l'initiative de s'enfuir d'Hadrumète, la capitale de la Byzacène prise par les Maures, pour aller chercher des renforts à Carthage, et qui ensuite, avec seulement quatre-vingts hommes, libéra la ville.¹²⁸ En 546, l'évêque de Carthage Reparatus accepta, sans aucune complaisance ou complicité, contrairement à ce qui lui fut reproché lors du procès truqué de 551,¹²⁹ de servir d'intermédiaire entre l'usurpateur Guntharich et le patrice Ariobindus, envoyé de Justinien.¹³⁰ En 548, lors du siège de Junci par les tribus berbères, c'est encore aussi l'évêque de la ville, très probablement Verecundus, qui tenta de négocier et qui, selon Corippe, réussit par sa seule parole à apaiser les Maures.¹³¹ Certes, depuis Synésios de Cyrène, ce genre

¹²⁸ Procope, *Guerre vandale*, II, 23. 18–25 (*Procopius: History of the Wars*, 3–4, pp. 412–14). Comme pour l'intervention de Reparatus, Procope, qui écrit son livre vers 549–50 à Constantinople, n'a aucun scrupule à mettre en valeur le rôle d'un clerc africain dans cette extraordinaire aventure: preuve qu'à ce moment encore, la répression n'avait pas vraiment commencé.

¹²⁹ On peut se demander si le retour voulu par l'empereur sur ces événements ne trahissait pas en lui-même le malaise de l'administration impériale sur son rôle à l'époque, surtout après la publication de l'ouvrage de Procope. Mais le procédé utilisé lui était, il est vrai, habituel: en 537, on accusa pareillement le pape Silvère d'avoir poursuivi des négociations avec les Goths, donc de trahir la cause impériale, pour justifier son remplacement par Vigile (Procope, *Guerre gothique*, I, 25. 14–15, *Procopius: History of the Wars: Books 5–6. 15 (Gothic War)*, éd. Henry Bronson Dewing, vol. III, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, London: William Heinemann, 1953), p. 242).

¹³⁰ Procope, *Guerre vandale*, II, 26. 23–28 et 31, *Procopius: History of the Wars*, 3–4, pp. 432–34: 'Sur ce, Gontharis dépêcha auprès d'Aréobindos le ministre sacré de la cité pour l'inviter à accepter les garanties qu'il lui offrait et se rendre au Palais [...]. Reparatos, le ministre sacré de la cité, se prévalut des intentions de Gontharis pour jurer à Aréobindos que ce dernier ne le maltraiterait point, et il lui rapporta aussi toutes les menaces que Gontharis avait formulées contre Aréobindos en cas de désobéissance. Pris de peur, Aréobindos convint de suivre sans délai le ministre sacré, à condition que celui-ci célébrât, à la manière habituelle, les rites du bain divin, puis assortît d'un serment solennel sur ce dernier les garanties de sauvegarde qu'il lui donnerait. Le ministre sacré se conforma donc à sa demande, sur quoi Aréobindos le suivit sans retard [...]. Quand ils furent arrivés à proximité du palais, Aréobindos alla se présenter à Gontharis avec, dans les mains, les Ecritures saintes, qu'il avait reçues du ministre sacré. Il se précipita à ses pieds et resta longtemps dans cette position, tout en montrant à Gontharis son rameau de suppliant ainsi que les Saintes Ecritures et l'enfant jugé digne de recevoir le bain divin, sur lequel, je l'ai dit, le ministre sacré avait solennellement engagé sa parole [...]. [Gontharis le rassura]. Sur ce Gontharis renvoya Reparatos, le ministre sacré, et pria Aréobindos et Athanasios [le préfet d'Afrique] de dîner au palais en sa compagnie.' (Dans la nuit qui suivit, il fit exécuter Aréobindos.)

¹³¹ Corippus, *Johannide*, VII, 479–94 (surtout 484), *Iohannidos seu De bellis Libycis libri VIII*, éd. par Iacobus Diggle et F. R. D. Goodyear (London: Cantabrigiae Typis Academicis, 1970),

d'intervention des prélats dans une guerre n'était pas neuf, mais on voit bien combien il a pu, surtout en Byzacène qui fut de loin la province la plus malmenée, contribuer à conforter auprès de leurs ouailles la position de clercs qui, parallèlement, étaient à la pointe du combat contre les textes impériaux sur les Trois Chapitres. Qu'un poète pourtant dévoué à la cause impériale comme Corippe ait pris le risque d'évoquer favorablement Verecundus,¹³² et qu'un proche de la Cour impériale comme Procope ait de même cherché à innocenter Reparatus,¹³³ révèle d'ailleurs bien ce que pouvait être le prestige acquis par le clergé africain pendant la guerre. Sans doute celui-ci explique-t-il aussi la longue et inhabituelle patience (de 544 à 551) de Justinien face aux protestations venues de ces provinces lointaines.

La conjonction du mécontentement contre la pression fiscale, de l'incompréhension de la situation de l'armée et de son indiscipline, des souffrances causées par la guerre maure, et de la proximité charitable de l'Eglise, créa donc un contexte qui ne pouvait que stimuler les clercs dans leur résistance.

Les divisions des Africains

Il ne faudrait cependant pas exagérer l'unité de cette résistance. Lorsque le temps des débats fut clos par Justinien et que la répression commença, à partir de 551, de fortes divergences apparurent en effet, qui ne tenaient pas qu'à des faiblesses ou au contraire à des actes de courage strictement individuels. Deux facteurs de

p. 162: 'Mansuescit gentes verbi virtute sacerdos.' L'identification de ce *sacerdos* avec Verecundus, déjà envisagée par Cameron ('Byzantine Africa', p. 44), a été proposée par Vincenzo Tandoi, 'Nota alla *Iohannis* di Corippo', *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, n.s., 52 (1980), 48–89; n.s., 54 (1982), 47–92 (54, pp. 80–81), et développée par Bianco, *Verecundi Iuncensis Carmen de paenitentia*, 'Introduzione', pp. 7–16.

¹³² On a d'ailleurs supposé que cela lui avait valu ensuite des ennuis: pour Bianco (*Verecundi Iuncensis Carmen de paenitentia*, 'Introduzione', pp. 14–15), le silence du poète entre la *Johannide* et l'*Eloge de Justin II* serait la conséquence d'une disgrâce due à cette affaire. Mais si la *Johannide* est antérieure au printemps 551, Corippe, comme Procope au même moment à propos de l'affaire Reparatus, n'eut peut-être pas conscience des risques qu'il prenait. Il est manifeste en tout cas, comme l'a souligné Heinz Hofmann ('Corippus as a Patristic Author?', *Vigiliae Christianae*, 43 (1989), 361–77), que le poète s'abstient dans la *Johannide* de toute allusion théologique, alors qu'il n'hésita pas, plus tard, à introduire dans l'*Eloge de Justin II* (IV, 292 et suivants) un exposé versifié du credo nicéen cher au nouvel empereur.

¹³³ La *Guerre vandale* a été écrite avant 551, et c'est ce qui explique que dans ce livre (II, 26. 23–26 et 31), Procope innocente aussi explicitement Reparatus (*Procopius: History of the Wars*, 3–4, pp. 432–34). Un peu plus tard, il aurait peut-être hésité à être si clair.

division intervinrent, l'un qui tenait à l'attitude à adopter face à la papauté, et l'autre aux rivalités interprovinciales anciennes des Africains.

Si Justinien trouva quelques évêques prêts à le suivre dès 551–552, lorsque le primat de Numidie Firmus accepta de signer la condamnation des Trois Chapitres, puis lorsque Primosus se laissa investir évêque de Carthage, les ralliements n'apparurent vraiment de façon significative qu'après le concile et surtout après le second *constitutum* de Vigile en 554. Malgré les dénonciations de Victor de Tunnuna qui veut situer sa 'trahison' dès 552, Primasius d'Hadrumète, défenseur de Vigile dès son arrivée à Constantinople en 551, et poursuivi pour cela par les forces de police impériales, avait ainsi encore refusé de siéger au concile de 553. Sa souscription à la condamnation des Trois Chapitres fut donc postérieure. Victor l'accuse de s'être laissé acheter, en obtenant la succession de Boethius à la primatie de Byzacène. En fait, au vu de son attitude antérieure, il est probable que son revirement fut d'abord lié à celui de Vigile: après le second *constitutum* de février 554, son refus de signer perdait sa raison d'être, et il choisit alors de suivre le pape, comme il l'avait fait depuis le début. Tel put être aussi le cas de ces évêques 'du concile de la province d'Afrique Proconsulaire' ('Proconsularis concilii Affricane prouincie') qui se soumirent alors, puis un peu plus tard de ceux du 'concile de Numidie' ('concilii Numidie episcopi').¹³⁴ Victor de Tunnuna ne voit en eux que des 'prévaricateurs', 'trompés par la ruse des évêques Rufinus et Vibius':¹³⁵ celle-ci put bien être d'abord un appel à respecter la décision du pape.

Contrairement à une idée reçue, en effet, la tradition de l'Eglise d'Afrique n'était pas sans ambiguïté vis-à-vis de l'évêque de Rome. Si depuis l'époque de Cyprien jusqu'à celle d'Augustin, elle refusait de lui reconnaître un pouvoir effectif de direction de la vie des communautés provinciales, elle avait toujours reconnu le principe de sa prééminence. Certes, il s'agissait là seulement de principes, mais, en ce domaine aussi, l'ère vandale avait changé les données du problème. Attaquée par les ariens, et le plus souvent sans secours réels de Constantinople, l'Eglise catholique d'Afrique s'était rapprochée de l'Eglise romaine. Elle avait accepté ainsi en 487 qu'un concile romain présidé par Félix III règle les délicats problèmes suscités par la persécution de 484, et notamment le sort des convertis à l'arianisme qui demandaient leur réintégration.¹³⁶ Plus tard, les

¹³⁴ Victor, *Chronicon*, 149 et 152, dans CCSL, 173A, pp. 49, 50; cf. *supra*, note 58.

¹³⁵ Victor, *Chronicon*, 149, dans CCSL, 173A, p. 49: 'Rufini et Viui episcoporum, Reparati archiepiscopi obtrectatorum, arte delusi [...].'

¹³⁶ Quatre évêques africains siégèrent à ce concile. Texte dans *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, éd. par Joannes Dominicus Mansi, 54 tomes (Paris: H. Welter, 1901–27),

évêques exilés en Sardaigne au temps de Thrasamund apprécièrent les secours qui leur venaient de Rome, la seule à se préoccuper vraiment de leur sort.¹³⁷ Et en 534, lorsque Justinien envisagea, dans un premier temps, une possible intégration du clergé arien dans l'Eglise, c'est d'abord au pape Jean que les 220 évêques du concile de Carthage firent appel.¹³⁸ On comprend ainsi que Fulgence de Ruspe se référait volontiers à ce que 'tient et enseigne l'Eglise romaine, qui est le sommet du monde',¹³⁹ et que Ferrandus en 546 définissait le siège apostolique comme 'primum tenens universalis Ecclesiae'.¹⁴⁰ Même Facundus d'Hermiane, qui dans le *Pro defensione* écrit encore de Vigile qu'il est le 'primus inter primos christianos sacerdos',¹⁴¹ détenteur de la 'prima et maxima potestas',¹⁴² était imprégné de cette pensée.¹⁴³ Eno

VII, cols 1171–73; et *Epistolae Romanorum pontificum*, I, 259–61. Commentaire dans Yves Modéran, 'The *Notitia provinciarum et civitatum Africae*: An Underestimated Document for the History of the Vandal Kingdom', dans *Vandals and Suevi: Proceedings of the International Symposium of San Marino, 12th–16th September 2002*, éd. Giovanni Ausenda et Samuel J. B. Barnish, à paraître.

¹³⁷ *Le Liber pontificalis*, éd. par Louis Duchesne, 3 tomes, 2^{me} éd. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1955–57), I, 263: le pape Symmaque apporta des secours 'omni anno per Africam vel Sardiniam ad episcopos qui exilio erant'. Une lettre d'Ennodius (II, 14), *Opera*, éd. par Friedrich Vogel, MGH, AA, 7 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1885), p. 68, fut aussi envoyée à la même époque aux exilés de Sardaigne pour les soutenir.

¹³⁸ Lettre de Reparatus, Florentianus, Datianus et des 217 évêques du concile de Carthage au pape Jean (mai 535?), dans *Collectio Avellana*, n° 85, CSEL, 35.1, pp. 328–30: 'sic omnibus nobis unanimiter subito placuit sciscitari primitus beatudinis vestrae sententiam. Potest enim sedes apostolica, quantum speramus, tale nobis interrogantibus dare responsum, quale nos approbare concorditer explorata veritas faciat.' Cf. aussi les deux réponses du successeur de Jean, Agapet, au concile et à Reparatus le 5 septembre 535: *Collectio Avellana*, n° 86 et 87, CSEL, 35.1, pp. 330–33.

¹³⁹ Fulgence, *Ep.* XVII, 21, dans CCSL, 91A, pp. 579–80, lignes 601–04: 'Quod duorum magnorum luminarium, Petri scilicet Paulique verbis, tanquam splendentibus radiis illustrata, eorumque decorata corporibus, Romana quae mundi cacumen est tenet et docet Ecclesia [...].'

¹⁴⁰ Ferrandus, *Ep.* 6, *PL*, 67, col. 924.

¹⁴¹ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, IV, 3. 6, SC, 478, p. 188.

¹⁴² 'Parce que ce n'est pas pour détruire le jugement des Pères, mais plutôt pour le défendre et le faire triompher qu'il a accepté la première place et le pouvoir suprême, et il n'a aucun pouvoir contre la vérité, mais pour la vérité il en a plus que tous ses autres collègues dans le sacerdoce' (trad. Fraïsse-Bétoulières). ('Quia ille, non in destructionem paternae sententiae, sed potius in defensionem atque ultionem, primam accepit et maximam potestatem; nec aliquid contra veritatem, sed pro veritate plus ceteris suis consacerdotibus potest': *Pro defensione*, II, 6. 2, SC, 471, pp. 338–39).

¹⁴³ C'est celle-ci qui explique aussi que le concile de Carthage en 550, pourtant très ferme dans ses condamnations de l'empereur et du pape, ait ménagé une possibilité de conciliation avec Vigile, et que les chefs de l'Eglise africaine aient répondu à la convocation de 551. Après le second

a d'ailleurs bien montré sur ce point que chez lui comme chez ses deux prédécesseurs, l'attachement aux conciles œcuméniques s'accompagnait toujours d'une précision: seuls les conciles dont les décisions avaient été reçues par le siège romain avaient une valeur doctrinale égale aux textes sacrés et à la parole des Pères.¹⁴⁴ Dès lors, l'impact du ralliement de Vigile ne doit pas être sous-estimé: autant que la peur de la répression, son effet sur la soumission de nombre d'évêques ne fut probablement pas négligeable.

La rupture de l'unité africaine après 553 doit cependant plus encore aux divisions héritées du passé. Par delà les antagonismes individuels, la résistance africaine dans la crise des Trois Chapitres fut marquée en effet par de forts contrastes régionaux. La Byzacène fut véritablement le centre de la résistance, dont provinrent les plus éminents des adversaires de Justinien: Facundus d'Hermiane, Primasius d'Hadrumète (jusqu'en 554), Verecundus de Junca, Théodore de Cebarsussi, et peut-être l'abbé Félix. Ce fut apparemment aussi la province où les hommes de Justinien eurent le plus de mal à trouver des prélats dociles pour se rendre à Constantinople, puisqu'un seul siégea au concile, Pompeianus, évêque de l'obscur 'Victoriana'. Elle fut surtout, après 553, la province qui s'obstina le plus longtemps à refuser les décisions de ce concile et le *constitutum*: alors que Victor de Tunnuna évoque explicitement le ralliement des assemblées de Proconsulaire et de Numidie, il souligne au contraire, nous l'avons vu, que celle de Byzacène condamna son nouveau primat soumis à l'empereur, laissant deviner un schisme qui se prolongea ici encore une bonne dizaine d'années. A l'inverse, la Proconsulaire, après avoir au début combattu fermement derrière Ferrandus et Reparatus, semble s'être effondrée dès avant 554. Avant même le ralliement à Primosus, une partie de son épiscopat avait en effet probablement déjà plié sous la pression impériale, puisque Sextilianus de Tunis, tout au long du concile de Constantinople, s'exprima explicitement 'au nom de ses collègues de son synode provincial', ce que les autres Africains ne firent pas.¹⁴⁵ Quant à la Numidie, contrairement à ce que les

constitutum, le ton fut totalement différent: il suffit de lire le *Breviarium causae* de Liberatus (*ACO*, II.5, p. 137 notamment), et ses accusations sur la corruption qui avait présidé à l'élection de Vigile, pour s'en rendre compte.

¹⁴⁴ Eno, 'Doctrinal Authority in the African Ecclesiology', pp. 95–113. Cf. Facundus, *Pro defensione*, II, 1. 6, SC, 471, pp. 268–69 (*supra*, note 88).

¹⁴⁵ *ACO*, IV.1, p. 222, lignes 32–34: 'Sextilianus misericordia dei episcopus ecclesiae catholicae Tuneiensis agens vicem Primosi archiepiscopi Iustinianae Carthaginis totiusque concilii provinciae Proconsularis [...]'. A comparer dans le même texte (p. 225, lignes 6–7) avec la souscription du seul évêque de Byzacène, Pompeianus: 'Pompeianus misericordia dei episcopus sanctae ecclesiae catholicae civitatis Victorianae provinciae Byzacenae [...]'.

rapprochements avec l'histoire du donatisme pourraient suggérer, elle ne se mit véritablement jamais en évidence: aucun des écrivains de la crise n'en est originaire; son primat fut le premier à céder à l'empereur, peut-être dès 551; et elle fournit à elle seule la moitié des Africains présents au concile de Constantinople.

Or ces différences prolongent exactement des oppositions provinciales qui s'étaient nettement manifestées à l'époque vandale, et qui étaient pour beaucoup la conséquence des modalités de la politique religieuse des Hasdings. Ceux-ci, de 439 à 523, avaient tout fait pour empêcher le culte catholique à Carthage et en Proconsulaire, région où étaient lotis les Vandales et où leur Eglise arienne devait seule officier, et ils avaient au contraire limité leurs interventions ailleurs.¹⁴⁶ Le résultat de ces inégalités avait été un renforcement de l'autonomie des autres provinces ecclésiastiques par rapport au siège métropolitain de Carthage. Alors que celui-ci resta vacant à de nombreuses reprises (439–54, 457–78, 484–87, 508–23), et que le nombre des évêques de Proconsulaire s'effondra (dès 484, il n'en restait que 54 contre 164 en 439), la Byzacène et la Numidie conservèrent longtemps la quasi-totalité de leur épiscopat (107 et 123 évêques en 484), avec leurs primats.¹⁴⁷ N'étant pas confronté comme la Proconsulaire à la concurrence de l'Eglise arienne, leur clergé continua à remplir sa mission, et de nombreux indices archéologiques montrent de plus en plus qu'il présida à des constructions ou à des restaurations de basiliques, apparemment sans entraves. Des habitudes d'autonomie furent ainsi peu à peu acquises, qu'une tradition conciliaire spécifique facilitait déjà avant l'invasion en Byzacène.¹⁴⁸ Lorsque Hildéric établit la liberté du culte en 523, les conséquences de cette autonomie éclatèrent au grand jour. Presque tous les évêques de Byzacène boycottèrent le grand concile organisé en 525 par l'évêque de Carthage, qui comptait, après une longue éclipse, y réaffirmer sa suprématie.¹⁴⁹ La virulence du discours de Reparatus contre le primat de

¹⁴⁶ Cf. sur cette régionalisation de la persécution, Modéran, 'L'établissement territorial des Vandales en Afrique', pp. 107–10 particulièrement.

¹⁴⁷ La source principale est ici la *Notitia provinciarum et civitatum Africae* (*supra*, note 103). Cf. aussi notre étude, 'The *Notitia provinciarum et civitatum Africae*'.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Serge Lancel, 'Originalité de la province ecclésiastique de Byzacène aux IV^e et V^e siècles', *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 45–46 (1964), 139–53; Serge Lancel et Jehan Desanges, 'Byzacena', dans *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, Supplement*, éd. par Theodor Klauser et autres, 2 tomes (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2001–03), II, cols 233–66.

¹⁴⁹ *Conc. Carthag. a. 525*, dans CCSL, 149, pp. 255–82, particulièrement p. 260, lignes 229–35, et liste des présents pp. 271–72. Carte et étude des évêchés représentés dans Christian Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1955), pp. 305–08.

Byzacène Liberatus montre alors très bien l'ampleur des divisions ainsi créées, ou au moins aggravées par la politique vandale.¹⁵⁰ Or l'Eglise ne sut pas les résorber d'elle-même entre 525 et 533, et elles se prolongèrent donc sous le gouvernement byzantin, à un point tel que les protagonistes n'hésitèrent pas alors à faire appel à l'empereur pour les départager. Mais si Justinien accumula, à la demande, les textes réglementaires, il s'efforça aussi de ne jamais vraiment rien trancher, entretenant ainsi peut-être sciemment ces divisions. Après que Reparatus de Carthage eut pris le premier l'initiative, peut-être dès 534, en demandant que sa suprématie soit reconnue, un passage de la novelle 37 de 535, qui restituait les biens ecclésiastiques confisqués par les Vandales, lui donna apparemment satisfaction, puisque l'empereur y accordait 'à sa sainte Eglise de Carthago Justiniana tous les privilèges que possèdent les cités métropolitaines et leurs évêques'.¹⁵¹ Même si elle n'était pas très explicite, la formule dut être interprétée dans le sens qui lui paraissait le plus favorable par l'évêque de Carthage.¹⁵² Cela provoqua en retour des réactions des autres primats qui à leur tour, on le comprend à travers deux constitutions de 541 et 542 adressées au primat de Byzacène Datianus, firent appel à l'empereur et en obtinrent confirmation de leur liberté face à Carthage.¹⁵³ La seconde de ces constitutions révélait cependant un véritable agacement de Justinien face à ces revendications d'autonomie, et comportait des menaces implicites à l'égard du concile de Byzacène qui, par leur date (542), ne furent très probablement pas sans conséquences sur la rapidité et la vigueur de la réaction de la province un ou deux ans

¹⁵⁰ Cf. *Conc. Carthag. a. 525*, dans CCL, 149, p. 275, lignes 91–103 (discours de Boniface de Carthage: '[...] Proinde cognovit sinceritas uestra fratrem consacerdotemque nostrum Liberatum de leuissimis rebus graue iurgium suscitare, captataque unius iniustissime querellae occasione, priuilegia huius ecclesiae moliri subtrahere [...]').

¹⁵¹ 'Privilegia insuper sacrosanctae ecclesiae nostrae Carthaginis Iustinianae omnia condonamus quae metropolitanae civitates et earum antistites habere noscuntur' (*Novella 37. 9, Corpus Iuris Civilis*, t. III: *Novellae*, pp. 244–45).

¹⁵² Nous suivons ici l'interprétation très argumentée de Salvatore Puliatti, 'I privilegi della chiesa africana nella legislazione di Giustiniano e di Giustino II', dans *Estudios en homenaje al profesor Juan Iglesias*, éd. par Jaime Roset, 3 tomes (Madrid: Seminario de Derecho Romano 'Ursicino Alvarez', Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1988), III, 1577–97; Salvatore Puliatti, *Ricerche sulle novelle di Giustino II: la legislazione imperiale da Giustiniano I a Giustino II*, t. II: *Problemi di diritto privato e di legislazione e politica religiosa* (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1991), pp. 91–148.

¹⁵³ *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, t. III: *Novellae, Appendix constitutionum dispersarum*, n° II et n° III, pp. 796–97. Cf. notamment n° II, p. 797: 'quaecumque igitur ad privilegia vestra vestrique concilii pertinent, iuxta veterem firmamus disciplinam'.

après.¹⁵⁴ Le fait que l'empereur justifiait sa décision en se disant 'gardien et défenseur de la tradition' ('Nos tutores tantum sumus vetustatis et vindices') et qu'il affirmait qu'en la matière, seules comptaient les décisions des conciles ('Illud pro lege servandum est, quod conciliis definitum servavit devota posteritas') dut d'ailleurs être souvent commenté dans les années suivantes.¹⁵⁵

Il n'est certes pas question d'établir un lien de cause à effet entre la situation de la Byzacène avant 542 et sa position dans l'affaire des Trois Chapitres. Mais l'autonomie qu'elle avait acquise, et la capacité qu'avaient ses évêques de s'organiser face à l'adversité, ont assurément dû contribuer pour beaucoup à la vigueur particulière et à la durée de sa résistance, plus longue ici que dans les autres provinces.

Une résistance sans conséquences?

Plus aucune trace de cette résistance n'est cependant reconnaissable après 569. Les relations de l'Afrique avec le pouvoir impérial, une fois passé le règne de Justinien, redevinrent paisibles pour trois quarts de siècle, jusqu'à la crise monothélite et l'*ecthesis* d'Heraclius en 638, et ceci soulève une ultime question: la crise des Trois Chapitres n'aurait-elle été finalement qu'un bref accident dans l'histoire de l'Eglise africaine?

Pour ce qui concerne l'évolution de ses rapports avec Constantinople, la vigueur de la répression ou la clémence impériale après 565 ne suffisent évidemment pas à tout expliquer: en Italie, le schisme résista bien plus longtemps, et ici même, en Afrique, après deux siècles, le donatisme existait encore. L'argent, souvent dénoncé par Facundus, ne permet pas non plus de répondre à toutes les questions. Certes, le pouvoir en fit largement usage, mais souvent pour une corruption 'noble'. L'extraordinaire floraison de constructions ou de restaurations de basiliques en Afrique au VI^e siècle ne s'arrêta pas en effet en 544: beaucoup des chantiers sont aussi à imputer à la période qui suivit la crise, et il ne fait guère de

¹⁵⁴ *Corpus Juris Civilis*, t. III: *Novellae, Appendix constitutionum dispersarum*, n° III, p. 797: 'nam quae quis in praeiudicium statutorum quibuslibet rebus usurpavit, corrigenda potius quam imitanda censemus [...] nec deerit ecclesiastica vindicta vel nostra in eos, qui aut ambitiosa superbia aut subrepticiis postulationibus antiquitatem temerasse docebuntur, quoniam ad divinitatis tendit iniuriam, qui sanctorum patrum constituta contemnere ac violare non metuit [...]'. Primasius d'Hadrumète faisait probablement partie de la délégation qui, en 542, porta à l'empereur cette seconde demande du primat Datius: c'est alors qu'il rencontra le questeur Junillus, d'origine africaine, et lui demanda le livre qui allait devenir les *Instituta*, et que Junillus lui dédia.

¹⁵⁵ Les deux citations proviennent de la novelle de 542 citée à la note précédente.

doutes que le financement impérial fut souvent derrière cette fièvre édilitaire, non évidemment sans arrière-pensées. Facundus d'Hermiane n'en était d'ailleurs pas dupe, qui dans son *Epistula fidei* écrivait, en 569, qu'il ne fallait pas chercher la vraie foi catholique chez 'ceux qui, soutenus par le Palais impérial, ont envahi ces églises manufacturées (*manufactas ecclesias*) dont les catholiques (les vrais) ont été expulsés'.¹⁵⁶ Mais tout ceci ne peut expliquer uniquement l'apaisement, qui tient nécessairement aussi à la manière dont les clercs africains trouvèrent leur avantage à collaborer à nouveau avec l'administration byzantine.

Or sur ce point, deux réalités anciennes et profondes durent être déterminantes. L'une, probablement commune aux clercs et aux laïcs, fut la peur du Maure, dont la menace réapparut dès 563 et face à laquelle, tant qu'il se montra décidé à faire face à ses responsabilités, l'Empire apparut comme la seule garantie de sécurité. Et l'autre fut la manière dont l'Etat byzantin, au sortir de la crise des Trois Chapitres, sut jouer des tendances anciennes de l'Eglise d'Afrique à la fragmentation, en s'employant sagement à donner l'impression qu'il respectait ses traditions et son autonomie. En 568, au moment où Facundus, apparemment de plus en plus seul, rédigeait son *Epistula fidei*, on vit ainsi, de manière tout à fait banale apparemment, le concile de Byzacène envoyer une pétition à Justin II pour demander confirmation du privilège du primat de juger les évêques et les clercs de sa province en matière canonique, du droit pour ce même primat d'envoyer, sans entraves (de l'administration), des légats auprès de l'empereur pour l'informer d'affaires importantes dans la province, et du maintien de la règle qui l'autorisait seul à permettre le voyage de clercs à Constantinople.¹⁵⁷ La nature des requêtes n'était évidemment pas anodine: elle visait à obtenir confirmation de l'autonomie de la Byzacène. Or, si l'empereur lui donna satisfaction, ce fut probablement parce qu'il perçut l'intérêt d'une telle autonomie, qui ne pouvait que renforcer les divisions de l'Eglise africaine: celles-ci, aggravées à la suite de la crise des Trois

¹⁵⁶ Facundus, *Epistula fidei*, 52, dans CCSL, 90A, p. 432: 'An quia manufactas ecclesias palatino suffulti suffragio depulsis catholicis pervaserunt?'

¹⁵⁷ 'Novelle du 1er mai 568', pp. 9–10. Selon l'étude récente de Denis Feissel ('Un acte de la préfecture d'Afrique sur l'Eglise de Byzacène au début du règne de Justin II', *Antiquité tardive*, 11 (2003), 97–112), l'acte d'un préfet d'Afrique de Justin II publié jadis par Gustav Hänel ('Über ein unedirtes Gesetz des Kaisers Justinus II', *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-Historische Classe*, 9 (1857), 1–21, texte pp. 2–3) et que l'on prenait pour la suite d'un autre rescrit de 566 concernant l'Eglise de Byzacène, serait en fait le décret d'application de cette novelle du 1er mai 568. Feissel donne une nouvelle édition avec traduction de cet acte et de la novelle: 'Un acte', pp. 106–09 et 111–12.

Chapitres, l'empêchaient en fait de songer désormais à régler ses problèmes internes les plus graves autrement qu'en faisant appel au pouvoir politique central. Mais, nous l'avons vu, cette attitude n'était au fond que la suite logique de la ligne suivie par l'Eglise de Byzacène depuis un siècle et demi: complètement indépendante de Carthage, et placée sous la surveillance d'autorités civiles lointaines, la province affirmait en fait encore plus nettement son indépendance. Tout indique que la Numidie, où Grégoire le Grand dénonçait à la fin du VI^e siècle des comportements ecclésiastiques schismatiques, trouva aussi son intérêt au système ainsi instauré. La correspondance du pape avec l'évêque de Carthage Dominicus montre d'ailleurs qu'il n'était pas question de mêler celui-ci à ces problèmes: Grégoire traitait directement avec le primat de Numidie, comme il le faisait avec celui de Byzacène pour d'autres questions.¹⁵⁸ La Proconsulaire et son évêque en prirent leur parti, puisque même en 646, au plus fort de la crise monothélite, ils réagirent isolément, comme leurs voisins, en tenant leur propre concile sur l'affaire.

L'unité africaine ne se fit à cette époque qu'à l'extérieur, à Rome, autour du pape Martin I lors du concile du Latran en 649. Et l'épisode est significatif aussi de l'évolution des relations de l'épiscopat régional avec la papauté. L'affirmation des identités et des autonomies provinciales refaisait en effet de Rome un point d'appui nécessaire en cas de crise, mais sans que cela implique pour autant une soumission réelle, comme le montre à nouveau la correspondance de Grégoire le Grand. Au fond, la situation en 646–49 ne fut pas en effet très différente de ce qu'elle avait été en 544: chaque province réagit séparément, avec, comme au temps de Justinien, des conciles provinciaux très fermes, et l'envoi de lettres à Constantinople en même temps qu'à Rome. En fait, Vigile oublié, l'Afrique avait repris ses relations avec la papauté sur les bases anciennes, en reconnaissant sa suprématie de principe, en l'appelant à l'aide au besoin, mais en défendant le plus possible, en temps normal, l'autonomie de ses provinces.

A défaut de bouleverser les rapports de l'Eglise d'Afrique avec l'Etat ou avec la papauté, la crise des Trois Chapitres eut-elle alors au moins un impact durable sur ses relations avec les Africains eux-mêmes, ses ouailles? La question mérite d'être posée, dans la mesure où, à la différence de ce qui advint au temps du donatisme, au début de l'époque vandale, ou plus tard à l'époque de la crise monothélite, on ne voit guère que les foules aient beaucoup suivi leur clergé dans sa rébellion.¹⁵⁹ Le

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Duval, 'Grégoire et l'Eglise d'Afrique', pp. 129–58.

¹⁵⁹ Problème bien aperçu avant nous par Cameron, 'Byzantine Africa', p. 50: 'in all the reaction to the Three Chapters controversy, it is the voices of the bishops that we hear: but what about their flocks? What were their reactions to this?'

seul incident attesté en ce sens, nous l'avons vu, est l'émeute probable qui accompagna l'installation de Primosus à Carthage en 551 ou 552, et elle n'eut apparemment aucune suite. Cette passivité pourrait surprendre, mais une prise en compte précise de la chronologie l'explique aisément. La première phase de la crise, de 544 à 548, qui fut celle où le mécontentement populaire contre le pouvoir dut être le plus vif, du fait de la guerre maure et des mutineries, fut en effet celle où la crise religieuse fut la moins violente, où l'on débattit et voyagea librement: les fidèles n'avaient alors aucune raison de se mobiliser réellement. La répression commença vraiment à partir de 551: or, à ce moment, l'Afrique avait retrouvé la paix, et le problème maure, véritable obsession pour tous les habitants du pays, comme en témoigne Corippus, semblait pour la première fois depuis un demi-siècle véritablement maîtrisé. D'autre part, les divisions du clergé commencèrent aussi à ce moment, et elles s'accrochèrent de plus en plus après 553, en brouillant vite toutes les certitudes pour le peuple chrétien. Nul doute dans ces conditions que le combat des évêques de Byzacène réfractaires comme Facundus ou Théodore de Cébarsussi ne put entraîner les masses. Et dès lors, on peut penser que, bien vite, tant le clergé que les fidèles cherchèrent à oublier la crise.

Plus que le signe du trouble que la domination byzantine pouvait introduire dans leurs habitudes, le comportement des Africains dans la crise des Trois Chapitres, une fois celle-ci déclenchée par Justinien, apparaît donc d'abord comme la conséquence des bouleversements introduits par le siècle vandale dans leur pays. Les clercs qui menèrent le combat contre l'empereur, ou qui se rallièrent à lui, avaient tous ou presque connu le temps où l'Eglise arienne était maîtresse à Carthage. Tous surtout se sentaient les héritiers des martyrs d'Hunéric, et avaient la conviction d'avoir derrière eux une histoire incomparable, qui donnait à leur parole une légitimité religieuse que personne ne pouvait leur disputer. De ce temps, ils avaient notamment retenu d'abord deux principes, qui ne pouvaient que les opposer à l'empereur en 543-45: le refus de toute ingérence politique dans les affaires de la foi, et le refus de toute remise en cause des décisions des conciles œcuméniques. L'exclamation qui surgissait sous la plume de Ferrandus de Carthage, en 546, 'Quid erat firmum, si quod statuit Chalcedonense concilium vocatur in dubium?', reflétait la même conviction que celle qui animait Quodvultdeus, Victor de Vita et son maître Fulgence de Ruspe lorsqu'ils combattaient les ariens au nom du concile de Nicée. Ces Africains, héritiers, certes, d'une *tradition* ancienne d'indépendance ecclésiale, étaient dans les années 540 habités par une *mémoire* de la persécution qui vivifiait cette tradition, et lui donnait une jeunesse et une force sans

équivalent ailleurs dans l'Empire.¹⁶⁰ L'initiative de Justinien, qui les heurta de front, ne les aurait cependant peut-être pas poussés aussi radicalement qu'ils le firent à la rebellion s'ils n'avaient pas senti alors que le pouvoir byzantin était en train de faillir face à ce qui, depuis le début, apparaissait à tous leurs compatriotes comme la principale, sinon pour certains, l'unique raison d'être de sa présence:¹⁶¹ la maîtrise du problème maure. La coïncidence chronologique entre la crise des Trois Chapitres et la grande guerre libyque des années 544–548 explique probablement pour beaucoup l'audace des évêques africains. Mais en sens inverse, les victoires de Jean Troglita et l'effondrement temporaire des Maures après 548 durent peser aussi ensuite sur les divisions de l'Eglise et l'effritement de la résistance. L'amertume de Facundus d'Hermiane n'y pouvait en effet rien: les Africains du milieu du VI^e siècle tenaient à l'Empire. Ce n'était probablement plus tout à fait vrai un siècle plus tard, au temps de la crise monothélite et des invasions arabes.

¹⁶⁰ Justinien était d'ailleurs conscient de l'importance de cette mémoire de l'occupation vandale, et il l'invoquait encore en 541 dans la conclusion de sa novelle confirmant les privilèges de la Byzacène: 'et quos a iugo subripuimus Vandalorum, ultra florem felicitatis antiquae sicut volumus erigamus': *Corpus Juris Civilis*, t. III: *Novellae, Appendix constitutionum dispersarum*, n° II, p. 797.

¹⁶¹ Rappelons ici le peu d'enthousiasme des laïcs à l'arrivée des Byzantins en 533, et la prudence extrême de Bélisaire face à eux dans les premières semaines de sa campagne. La plupart s'accommodaient plutôt bien, semble-t-il, du gouvernement vandale, à condition qu'il réussisse, comme il l'avait longtemps fait, à tenir les Maures à distance.

Part II
Italy and the Papacy



Map 2. Italy

THE THREE CHAPTERS AND THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF ITALY

Claire Sotinel

Italy is doubtless the only country where the history books give space, albeit not a great deal, to the controversy over the ‘Tre capitoli’. This should not surprise us. If it was African theologians who took the lead in the defence of the Three Chapters, Italians perhaps took an even more central place, on account of the necessarily greater part played by the pope, and because no region of the Empire bore so lasting a mark left by the controversy. Everywhere else, though there was lively controversy during the reign of Justinian, its traces vanished remarkably rapidly.¹ In the Italian peninsula, however, its consequences were more lasting. The most visible — the schism which, in the case of the churches of the ecclesiastical province of Aquileia, lasted until the end of the seventh century — was certainly not the sole consequence. To reject the condemnation of the Three Chapters after the Council of 553 was in fact to reject an imperial decision, the judgement of an ecumenical council, and a position held by Rome. Briefly, this amounted to disputing the rules which defined orthodoxy and the common faith, as the first defender of the Three Chapters, the Carthaginian deacon Ferrandus, had stated at the beginning of the debate.

Within the Roman Empire Italy formed a complex entity.² In Late Antiquity it consisted of two distinct administrative regions: Italia Annonaria (‘Annonarian Italy’), which comprised the provinces of Liguria, Aemilia, and Venetia et Histria (together with the province of Alpes Cottiae, in itself a complicated story); south

¹ See in this volume Richard Price, ‘The Three Chapters Controversy and the Council of Chalcedon’, for the East, Yves Modéran, ‘L’Afrique reconquise et les Trois Chapitres’, for Africa, and Ian Wood, ‘The Franks and Papal Theology, 550–660’, for Gaul.

² Andrea Giardina, *L’Italia romana: storie di un’identità incompiuta* (Rome: Laterza, 1997).

of the Po Italia Suburbicaria ('Suburbicarian Italy'), as it was called, including the islands, was centred on Rome. Alongside this administrative division a more strongly marked identity emerged, especially during the years of Gothic rule, one clearly expressed in the panegyric on King Theodoric composed by the Milanese deacon Ennodius, or in the *Variae* of Cassiodorus: this is a political entity distinguished from other ancient provinces of the Empire by a pronounced Roman identity, benevolently protected by the Gothic king, one which was to be defended against attacks by barbarian peoples, and even, if necessary, against the pretensions of the emperor at Constantinople.

The ancient distinction between the two Italian vicariates is reflected in the ecclesiastical geography: the churches of Italia Suburbicaria were directly dependent on Rome, whose bishop was their metropolitan. The bishops were consecrated by the Bishop of Rome, cases referred from episcopal judgement were subject to appeal to Roman jurisdiction, and the bishops took part in councils called in Rome, in theory annually, to regulate the life of the churches according to the canons. By contrast, in Italia Annonaria the churches were dependent on Rome no more than those of Gaul or Spain. At the beginning of the sixth century there were two metropolitan sees: Milan, whose disciplinary authority extended from the Tyrrhenian Sea to Trento, and Aquileia, whose authority extended beyond the boundaries of the province of Venetia et Histria in the direction of the province of Noricum. These churches of Italia Annonaria were in communion with Rome, but not subject to its disciplinary authority. By a special tradition the Bishops of Milan and of Aquileia consecrated each other.

In the course of their history the relations between the two metropolitan sees of Italia Annonaria and Rome varied according to the personalities of the bishops and political circumstances, without, however, involving any direct dependence. There were, to be sure, episodes of tension — we shall have occasion to return to this — but the autonomy of the churches was never disputed. 'Italy' was not an entity in the context of ecclesiastical realities. The bishops of northern Italy expressed a clear sense of belonging to the West, marked by the use of the Latin language, but they did not refer to any 'Italian' entity. This appears very clearly in the claim made by Datius, the Bishop of Milan, at Vigilius's side in opposing the Emperor, to speak 'in the name of, and as one of, the priests among whom my church is established, that is to say, the churches of Gaul, of the Burgundian kingdom, of Spain, of Liguria, of Aemilia and of Venetia'.³

³ *Epistula clericorum Mediolanensium ad legatos Francorum*, in *Vigiliusbrieft*, ed. by Eduard Schwartz, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Abt. 1940, 2 (Munich: Die Akademie, 1940) (henceforth cited as *Ep. legatarii*), p. 21, lines 24–30.

Since the emergence of Milan and Aquileia as churches with metropolitan authority in the fourth century, the churches of northern Italy had been autonomous. This situation did not change in the middle of the sixth century. In the fifth century the merging of Aemilia in the province of Flaminia and the division of the old *regio* VII (= Tuscia et Umbria Suburbicaria) complicated both the administrative and the ecclesiastical geography. Tuscia Annonaria administratively became part of Italia Annonaria, but as late as 496 the Bishop of Volterra (situated in this region) was still subject to Rome, as a letter of Gelasius attests.⁴ In Flaminia, the church of Ravenna gradually acquired new prestige in the wake of the city having become the imperial residence. In the fifth century, we know of two bishops from sees formerly dependent on Milan consecrated by Bishops of Ravenna.⁵ Its new status was given a somewhat brutal recognition at the very beginning of the Three Chapters controversy by the Emperor Justinian, who, bypassing all electoral procedure, appointed the Istrian deacon Maximian as the new Bishop of Ravenna. The see began to claim a metropolitan authority that was progressively recognized, though in subjection to Rome, to an extent not clearly defined.

Political and ecclesiastical balance was disrupted by the war between Gothic Italy and Constantinople, which began in 536. In 537, the Bishop of Milan, Datius, was in Rome, having left his home town devastated by famine.⁶ He suggested to the Byzantine officials in Rome that an expedition be organized to 'liberate' Milan from the Goths. The imperial army managed rather easily to cross the river Po and to occupy the city, but it was soon besieged by the Goths and, after nine months, its chiefs surrendered, leaving the local population helpless. According to Procopius of Caesarea, Milan was 'razed to the ground' and the Goths killed 'all the males of every age to the number of not less than three hundred thousand' and reduced 'the women to slavery', though the actual damage to the population is unclear.⁷

⁴ Letter to Helpidius of Volterra, reprimanded for having gone to Theodoric at Ravenna without the permission of the Pope: Gelasius, *Fragm.* 7. 1, *Epistolae Romanorum pontificum genuinae et quae ad eos scriptae sunt*, vol. I: *A S. Hilario usque ad Pelagium II*, ed. by Andreas Thiel (Braunsberg: Eduard Peter, 1867–68), p. 486; *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, vol. II: *Prosopographie de l'Italie chrétienne (313–604)*, ed. by Charles Pietri and Luce Pietri, 2 vols (Rome: École française de Rome, 1999–2000) (henceforth cited as *PCBE Italie*), Helpidius 2, pp. 969–70.

⁵ *PCBE Italie*, Datius, p. 532.

⁶ *Vita Silvestri*, in *Le Liber pontificalis*, text, introduction, and commentary by Louis Duchesne, 2 vols (Paris: E. Thorin, 1886–92), I (henceforth cited as *LP*, I), 201.

⁷ Procopius, *De bello gothico* II, 7. 35, in *Opera omnia*, ed. by Jakob Haury and Gerhard Wirth (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1963), p. 185. The event is dated 538 in Marius, *Chronica*, a. 538, in

After this tragic failure, Datius went to Constantinople, where he was to become a major protagonist in the Three Chapters controversy. There was to be no bishop resident in Milan until 552, an unprecedented situation which certainly played a role in the Italian developments of the crisis.

Thus, the crisis of the Three Chapters hit Italy at a time of profound transformations, ecclesiastical among others, accelerated by the Gothic wars (536–55) and lasting beyond them. The strictly ecclesiastical questions need to be considered in the larger political context from which they cannot be separated.

The First Italian Reactions to the Condemnation of the Three Chapters

At the time that Justinian took the decision to condemn the Three Chapters, at least two Italian clerics were present in Constantinople: the deacon Stephen, who was *apocrisiarius* of Rome, and the Bishop of Milan, Datius. The alarm regarding the Three Chapters was raised by Stephen, who quickly alerted his colleague the deacon Pelagius, in Rome at the time. The link between Vigilius's departure from Rome and the condemnation of the Three Chapters has, notoriously, been a matter of controversy since the sixth century. Their connection is affirmed by Facundus of Hermiane, but the *Liber Pontificalis* only loosely suggests it in attributing the order to make Vigilius leave Rome to the Empress Theodora.⁸ Until his sojourn in Sicily, we have no indication of the view taken by Vigilius concerning the Three Chapters. It was in Sicily that the debate began, when he received Datius of Milan as well as a delegation from the African churches and a representative of the church of Alexandria, all agreed in inviting him to reject the condemnation. The only supporter of the condemnation in Italy was the deacon Maximian, designated by the Emperor to become Bishop of Ravenna after a vacancy of more than two years.⁹ The Pope met him, on his stopover at Patras on

Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII, vol. II, ed. by Theodor Mommsen, MGH, *AA*, 11 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), p. 235.

⁸ Facundus, *Pro defensione trium capitulorum libri XII*, IV, 3, in *Facundi episcopi Ecclesiae Hermianensis opera omnia*, ed. by Jean-Marie Clément and Roland Vander Plaetse, CCSL, 90A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974), pp. 121–22; Marcellinus, *Chronicon ad a. 546*, in *Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII*, vol. II, MGH, *AA*, 11, p. 107, says only that 'he was summoned by the emperor' ('euocatus ab imperatore'). *LP*, I, 297, gives the more vivid account.

⁹ Robert A. Markus, 'Carthage – Prima Justiniana – Ravenna: Aspects of Justinian's *Kirchenpolitik*', *Byzantion*, 49 (1979), 277–306 (pp. 295–97); reprinted in Markus, *From Augustine to*

his journey to Constantinople, in October 545, and consecrated him as Bishop, also conferring on him the pallium as a sign of special authority. After overcoming the Ravenna clergy's violent opposition to him — perhaps accentuated by his support of the condemnation of the Three Chapters, but surely also due to the circumstances of his appointment as their bishop, which had deprived the church of Ravenna of exercising its rights — Maximian was to be the sole known supporter of Justinian's policy in Italy during the following eleven years.¹⁰

The events at Constantinople do not concern us here, even though a number of Italians were present there at the same time as the Pope. Among the clergy, in addition to Datius of Milan, whose presence, it should be recalled, was not occasioned by the religious problems but who played an important part as the Pope's unconditional supporter, we know of nine bishops of Italia Suburbicaria, from the immediate neighbourhood of Rome and the Adriatic areas, from Rimini to Lecce; to this group should be added the Bishop of Squillace. We do not know whether their presence at Constantinople was due to political reasons linked to the war or to imperial command (addressed to those who came early under imperial control),¹¹ but most of them followed the meanderings of the papal policy: they signed the condemnation of Theodore Askidas, of Menas of Constantinople, and of the bishops who had assented to the imperial edict of condemnation of August 551;¹² and they gave their assent in May 553 to the *Constitutum de tribus capitulis* (the *First Constitutum*), thereby associating themselves with the policies of the Pope, who refused to take his seat at the Fifth Ecumenical Council.¹³ Some of them, at least, were present when Vigilius withdrew his *Iudicatum* (11 April

Gregory the Great: History and Christianity in Late Antiquity, Variorum Reprints (London: Variorum, 1983), XIII.

¹⁰ Maximian's fidelity to Justinian does not need to be demonstrated, but nothing in his biography links him with the Three Chapters controversy: Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 26, ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH, *SrLI* (Hannover: Hahn, 1878), pp. 290–91.

¹¹ This is not the place to write the history of the Gothic wars; see Ernest Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. II: *De la disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476–565)*, publiée par Jean-Remy Palanque (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1949), pp. 328–68.

¹² Vigilius, *Ep. 2* (*Vigiliusbriefe*, ed. by Eduard Schwartz, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Abt. 1940, 2 (Munich: Die Akademie, 1940), p. 15) was signed by ten Italian bishops, including Datius of Milan.

¹³ Vigilius, *Constitutum de tribus capitulis*, in *Collectio Avellana*, ed. by Otto Günther, CSEL, 35.1 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1895), pp. 230–320 (p. 318).

548).¹⁴ During this time Maximian of Ravenna made a profitable journey to Constantinople, to obtain marble for the construction of churches in Ravenna; but there is no evidence to suggest that his presence at the court affected the course of the controversy.¹⁵ We do not know whether the bishops in the company of Vigilus remained in contact with their churches during the years of their sojourn in the East. Only one of them, Julian of Cingoli, is documented after the council. He accounts for arrears of the revenues due from the patrimonies of the Roman church of which he is in charge — a fact that indicates he did not continue defending the Three Chapters after the council.

The question that concerns us here relates to the repercussions of the proceedings at Constantinople in Italy, from 545 to Pelagius's return to Rome in 556. During these years, the principal preoccupations in Rome were of a political and military nature.¹⁶ The city changed hands four times: twice the Goths besieged it for lengthy periods (December 545 to December 546 and June 549 to January 550); twice the Byzantine armies took it by assault. During the first siege by the Goths, Pelagius seems to have played a prominent part. According to Procopius, he used his personal fortune to come to the aid of the displaced populations, and he was sent on an embassy to King Totila to negotiate the lifting of the siege. The very Roman and rather brusque procedure he used doubtless contributed to the failure of this initiative, but he succeeded in persuading Totila to spare the population when he entered the city.¹⁷ There is nothing to suggest that he was much concerned about the Three Chapters during this difficult year, but he may have managed to convey to the Roman clergy his conviction favouring their defence.¹⁸

The only light on the ecclesiastical life of Rome during this difficult time is shed by the funerary inscription of a priest, Mareas, whom the epitaph deems fit to have exercised the pontificate (he is said to be *pontificale dignus*). There is an allusion to his ability to defend the apostolic see, but it is hard to know whether this is a reference to the defence of the Three Chapters. The text says that Mareas has 'prevented certain cruel persons from causing people to lose the faith as received from the fathers', but this could refer to the troubled relations with the

¹⁴ Such is the case at least of Iohannes, bishop of the *Marses*, Zacchaeus of Squillace, and Iulianus of Cingoli: *ACO*, IV.2, pp. 198–99.

¹⁵ Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis*, 76, p. 329.

¹⁶ On the details of the events, see Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 578–611.

¹⁷ Procopius, *De bello gothico*, III, 16–17, 21, pp. 363–73, 392–94.

¹⁸ This doubtless explains the population's disarray in the face of the positions he took in 556.

Goths.¹⁹ The only detail that had engaged the interest of the epitaph's author is Mareas's teaching on chrismation, which he thought should not be repeated. This seems unrelated to the debates on the Three Chapters.²⁰ There was much confusion in Rome about what had taken place at Constantinople. This is borne out by the petition of the Romans mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* for the return of Pope Vigilius 'in case he was still alive', and the rumours that he had died at Pelagius's hands.²¹

Texts concerning the Three Chapters also circulated in both Sicily and Italia Annonaria in the 540s and early 550s. One of the remarkable aspects of the quarrel is, indeed, that so much effort should have been expended in publicizing the opposing positions. These writings surely contributed to the great confusion of opinions in the late 550s. The Roman deacon Rusticus — a nephew of Pope Vigilius — disseminated texts contrary to the generally held view. At first, as a partisan of the condemnation of the Three Chapters, at a moment when Vigilius was changing his mind, he circulated copies of the *Iudicatum* of 548 — of which he approved — in Sicily and in the circle of the deacon Pelagius;²² later, having changed his mind, he circulated letters denouncing Vigilius as the enemy of the Council of Chalcedon in the provinces, especially in Sicily and Italy.²³ This chaotic diffusion of news continued after the Council of Constantinople (553), while the memoir composed by Pelagius in his exile justifying his refusal to assent to the council and Pope Vigilius's view circulated in Italy during his pontificate, along with other texts whose authenticity he denied after his accession to the papacy.²⁴

The only region in which the reaction to this jumble of news is known is northern Italy. The letter collections of Arles have preserved a memorandum addressed in 552 by Italian clergy to Frankish legates on their way to Constanti-

¹⁹ According to Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 671, he 'remained a staunch defender of the Three Chapters'.

²⁰ *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores, Noua Series* 8, *Coemeteria in via Nomentana, Salaria*, ed. by Antonio Ferrua (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1985), no. 23065; the inscription is also published in *LP*, I, 302.

²¹ *LP*, I, 299.

²² Vigilius, *Ep. ad Rusticum et Sebastianum*, in *ACO*, IV.2, p. 190.

²³ Vigilius, *Ep. ad Rusticum et Sebastianum*, in *ACO*, IV.2, p. 192.

²⁴ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 80, *Epistulae quae supersunt*, ed. by Pius M. Gassò and Columba M. Batlle, *Scripta et documenta*, 8 (Montserrat: In Abatia Montiserrati, 1956), pp. 196–97 (Pelagius I's letters henceforth cited from this edition).

nople. This text is generally attributed to Milanese clergy; I think, however, that it is more likely to have been composed by bishops of the region united in a more or less informal council, and from an area whose boundaries are indeterminate, north of the Po. The letter manifests several characteristic attitudes of the Italian churches: the assurance of defending a just cause; unshaken confidence in Pope Vigilius; a sense of solidarity with the western churches — especially of Africa — against ‘the Greeks’; sharp distrust of the rumours circulating in Italy; and reasoned rejection of an ecclesial model regarded as ‘Greek’.²⁵

It is in this context of distrust that the imperial authorities intervened in securing the succession to Datius, after his death in Constantinople sometime after February 552. They were represented in Italy by Valerianus, an officer of Thracian origin, and companion of Belisarius on his African campaign, who had been present on the Italian front since 547.²⁶ We do not know anything about the election itself, except that the Bishop of Aquileia, whose influence had certainly benefited from the absence of a bishop in Milan in the last fifteen years, played a major role. But Valerianus not only refused to allow the consecration of a new bishop for Milan before the receipt of imperial authorization (a procedure newly introduced in Italy), but also insisted on the consecration taking place in Ravenna.²⁷ To be sure, it could not have been carried out in Milan, which was inaccessible to the imperial forces at the time; but why Ravenna rather than Aquileia? Was it to make certain that the consecration was carried out under a bishop faithful to the imperial policy (and thus with an intention of deliberate hostility to the supporters of the Three Chapters), or simply to enhance the growing authority of the see of Ravenna? Either way, the decision would not be well received in northern Italy.²⁸ If Justinian hoped by this means to secure the support of all the metropolitan sees of Italy for his religious policy, he was to be disappointed. We have no explicit evidence for the position of Macedonius of

²⁵ The whole letter to the Frankish legates (*Ep. legatariis*, see note 3 above) should be read; for a detailed analysis of the positions taken there, see Claire Sotinel, *Identité civique et christianisme: Aquilée du III^e au VI^e siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2005), pp. 309–17.

²⁶ J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. III: A.D. 527–641 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) (henceforth cited as *PLRE*, III), Valerianus 1, pp. 1355–61.

²⁷ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 52, pp. 138–39.

²⁸ On the situation in the area of Milan in the summer 552, see Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 602–04.

Aquileia, nor of Datius's successor in Milan, Vitalis,²⁹ but the firm stand taken by their churches against Pope Pelagius I (556–61) is enough to prove that they persisted in the defence of the Three Chapters. It is important to note that the solidarity between the sees of Milan and of Aquileia on this occasion, until the advent of the Lombards in 568, is part of the changing structure of the ecclesiastical geography described above. Since the episcopate of Ambrose at the end of the fourth century, relations between the two provinces were not very close; indeed, at the beginning of the sixth century they even became tense. But the start of the controversy over the Three Chapters manifests new solidarities forged since the final years of the Gothic regime: the provinces of Milan and of Aquileia were well informed, at any rate until the eve of the Council of Constantinople (553); they were both engaged in the defence of the Three Chapters; and they doubtless associated in resisting the growing ambitions of Ravenna.³⁰

The Alliance Against Pelagius I

If news concerning the vicissitudes of Vigilius's stay in Constantinople was unevenly spread in Italy, news about the Council of 553 seems to have been non-existent, particularly in northern Italy. Its acts were translated into Latin and available in Rome soon after its conclusion, but Pelagius took care to refrain from distributing them, and the existence of two different versions, one short, the other long, certainly complicated the situation.³¹ In particular, Vigilius's assent to the conciliar decisions was largely ignored: for months in the churches of the West, and for years in the northern Italian churches, the assent to the condemnation of the Three Chapters was taken to have been given by Pelagius, not Vigilius.³² Even the

²⁹ Next to nothing is known of these bishops: *PCBE Italie*, Macedonius 6, p. 1345, and Vitalis 10, pp. 2330–31.

³⁰ The correspondence of the Milanese deacon Ennodius in effect attests the poor relations between the two metropolitan sees at the beginning of the century: Ennodius, *Epp.* IV, 29; IV, 31; V, 1, in *Opera*, ed. by Friedrich Vogel, MGH, *AA*, 7 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1885), pp. 150, 151, 153–54.

³¹ Johannes Straub, *Praefatio*, in *ACO*, IV.1, pp. xii–xxi. The respective chronology of the two versions has been established by Evangelos Chrysos, *The Ecclesiastical Policy of Justinian in the Controversy of the Three Chapters and the Fifth Ecumenical Council* [in Greek] (Thessalonica: Patriarchikon Hidryma Paterikon Meleton, 1969).

³² The uncertainty over Vigilius's attitude after the council lasted until the beginning of the twentieth century and has only been resolved by the dissertation of Engelbert Zetl (of 1929, but

churches of northern Italy — the best informed of all the churches until the time of the council — had no copies of the acts of the council in their archives.³³ This was the main reason for the opposition the new Pope faced on his arrival in Rome.

The *Liber Pontificalis* reports that it had been impossible to find three bishops to consecrate Pelagius, and that this was why he was consecrated by the bishops of Ferentino and of Perugia and by a priest from Ostia. This is suggestive of mistrust among the episcopate of an imperially backed candidate, but it should also be recalled that Italy had recently been devastated by war, and that during the Pope's absence episcopal ordinations could not be carried out in conformity with the canonical rules. Although the difficulty of finding consecrators has often been seen as a sign of opposition to Pelagius, this is not necessarily the case. Even, however, if Pelagius's consecration was not entirely due to the position he had taken with regard to the Three Chapters, we can hardly doubt the popular hostility. Rumour made him responsible for Vigilius's death, and the great procession he organized from the church of St Pancras to the Vatican basilica of St Peter, with the participation of the *patricius* Narses, was accompanied by a solemn oath denying the treachery imputed to him and proclaiming a profession of faith intended to calm the anxieties of those who doubted his orthodoxy.³⁴

Apart from the author's probably tendentious narrative, Pelagius's correspondence reveals various kinds of difficult situations. In Suburbicarian Italy we have only a single indication of the reaction to his ordination: the refusal by the Bishop of Taormina to communicate with him, though we do not know for sure if this is linked in any way with the Three Chapters.³⁵ All the rest of his correspondence concerning the churches of Suburbicarian Italy deals with the reorganization of the Roman patrimonies after the long years of war. The *Liber Pontificalis* states

published only in 1974), *Die Bestätigung des V. Ökumenischen Konzils durch Papst Vigilius: Untersuchungen über die Echtheit der Briefe 'Scandala' und 'Aetius'* (JK. 936–937) (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1974). Zettl's conclusions were not widely noted until the publication of *ACO*, IV.1, by Johannes Straub in 1971.

³³ This can be inferred from the exchange of arguments with Pope Gregory, analysed in this volume by Carole Straw, 'Much Ado About Nothing: Gregory the Great's Apology to the Istrians'. Rome certainly possessed the acts of the council but did not seek to publicize them — quite to the contrary.

³⁴ *LP*, I, 303. Ferentino is a see of Latium; Perugia is in Tuscia.

³⁵ The situation was denounced by Pelagius only three years later; he did not try to establish a link between this attitude of pride and the defence of the Three Chapters: Pelagius I, *Ep.* 41 (*a.* 559), pp. 114–16. See below, pp. 96–97.

that 'the monasteries and a multitude of religious men, both learned and noble, separated themselves from communion with him, saying that he had had a hand in Pope Vigilius's death'.³⁶ The precision of this comment is striking and contrasts with the vagueness of the charges against Pelagius. The fact is that Pelagius's letters preserved in the canonical collections have recorded the reactions of a lay³⁷ and a clerical elite in Italy anxious about the Pope's orthodoxy. There was no better way of characterizing their attitude than by describing them as having 'separated themselves from communion' with him, pretending that the see of Rome was vacant — what in fact amounts simply to the omission of his name from the diptychs.³⁸ Moreover, such distrust of Pelagius extended far beyond Italy, as is indicated by the large part of his correspondence addressed to Gallic bishops;³⁹ but in Italy opposition to the Pope took more concrete form.

Among Pelagius's letters, the canonical collections have preserved twenty-four concerning the supporters of the Three Chapters in Italy. The geographical reference and the chronology of his interventions need to be taken into account. Geographically, the surviving twenty-four letters do not all, by any means, concern what will soon be called 'the schism of Aquileia'; only five concern Venetia and, more particularly, Aquileia.⁴⁰ Two others concern, in a more general way, the 'regions of Liguria and Venetia' (*sic*).⁴¹ Four concern the bishops of Tuscia, who were doubtless still

³⁶ *LP*, I, 303.

³⁷ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 35, pp. 96–101; the letter is to Viator and Pancratius, *uir illustres*, who do not seem to exercise defined functions, but to whom the Pope explains that if they take part in celebrations presided over by a bishop separated from Rome they are schismatics. Also Pelagius I, *Ep.* 80, pp. 196–97, to Symeo, *uir illustris*, which voices anxiety over the Pope's orthodoxy, on having read the texts attributed to him that defend the Three Chapters.

³⁸ Diptychs are lists of names of living and dead persons who were to be proclaimed and commemorated by the deacon during the celebration of the Mass; about their use in schism, see Claire Sotinel, 'Emperors and Popes in the Sixth Century: The Western View', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. by Michael Maas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 267–90 (p. 269). The bishops obviously knew that there was a pope; acting as if there was none was the easiest way to deny his legitimacy.

³⁹ See Wood, 'The Franks and Papal Theology', in this volume.

⁴⁰ These are the letters addressed to the *patricius* Iohannes (*Epp.* 24, 53, pp. 73–78, 140–42) and to the *patricius* Valerianus (*Epp.* 52, 59, pp. 134–39, 155–58), and the letter in which Pelagius requests Agnellus of Ravenna to send him to Iohannes, a priest in communion with Rome (*Ep.* 50, p. 131).

⁴¹ The letter to the *comes patrimonii* Iohannes, coming up against schismatics, to whom Pelagius sends the priest Luminosus to give him spiritual and sacramental assistance; the letter to

under Roman authority.⁴² Three concern Secundus of Taormina, also directly subject to Rome.⁴³ A dossier of five letters concerns the Bishop of Fossombrone in Flaminia (now in Le Marche) who was subject to the see of Ravenna.⁴⁴ Three are addressed to Agnellus, the Bishop of Ravenna (who should not be confused with the homonym bishop who lived three centuries later) but only one of these is related to a specific place — Aquileia; the two others contain advice of a general kind on the procedure for the reconciliation of repentant schismatics.⁴⁵

We should not, though, be misled by the distribution of the papal correspondence. From this stage the pre-eminent role of Aquileia appears clearly. With the exception of a previous letter sent in April 557 to the seven bishops of Tuscia who had refused to mention Pelagius in the diptychs, all the surviving letters were written between February and April 559. As we know that opposition to Pelagius endured throughout his pontificate (556–61), such a concentration throws into sharp relief the election of Paulus to the see of Aquileia, which took place at this

Luminosus (*Ep.* 61, p. 162) tells him to be careful not to take any action ‘in the regions of Liguria and Venetia’.

⁴² *Ep.* 10, pp. 31–34, was sent to the group of the bishops of Tuscia Annonaria. *Ep.* 43, pp. 119–20, addressed to Laurentius of Civitavecchia should be associated with it, even if this Laurence is not identical with the Laurence named in *Ep.* 10: Civitavecchia is in Tuscia Suburbicaria, not in Tuscia Annonaria. But Laurence is charged by the Pope to watch that the clergy of his region should mention his name in the diptychs: proof that the situation condemned in *Ep.* 10 in 557 still existed in the south of the old *regio* VII, eighty-five kilometers from Rome, in 559. Finally, *Epp.* 65 and 66 (pp. 171–74) concern Terentius and Maximilianus, two of the recipients of *Ep.* 10, still dissidents in 559. By contrast, *Ep.* 21 (pp. 64–66), addressed to Gaudentius of Volterra, has no bearing on the Three Chapters; however, if this Gaudentius is identical with the Gaudentius addressed in *Ep.* 10 (Volterra could in effect be in Tuscia Annonaria), he returned, like Laurentius, to communion with Rome.

⁴³ *Ep.* 41 (March 559, pp. 114–15), and *Epp.* 78 and 79 (April 559, pp. 193–95). Pelagius does not explicitly say that Secundus refused communion with him, but he is said to have refused with *superbia* all communication with the Pope.

⁴⁴ *Ep.* 35, pp. 96–101, sent between February and March 559, is addressed to two laymen who are subject to the ecclesiastical authority of a Paulinus. The Bishop of Aquileia is always called Paulus in Pelagius’s letters. Thus there are several reasons to think that here Paulinus of Fossombrone is meant, who was vigorously denounced to Narses between March and April 569 (*Ep.* 60, pp. 159–61), to the *magister militum* Iohannes (*Epp.* 69, 71, pp. 178–79, 182; for various possible identifications of this Iohannes, see *PCBE Italie*, Iohannes 51, pp. 1096–97), and to the Roman *defensores* Basilius and Oclatinus (*Ep.* 70, pp. 180–81).

⁴⁵ *Ep.* 37 (March 559, pp. 106–08) and *Ep.* 74 (April 559, pp. 187–88). On *Ep.* 50, see note 78 below.

moment. This event is a turning point in the defence of the Three Chapters, inasmuch as it marks a profound change in the papal policy, inspiring Pelagius to compile a literature of self-justification deemed to be sufficiently convincing to be kept in the pontifical archives. Thus Pelagius wrote for the first time in April 559 to Bishop Secundus of Taormina, to take measures against him for having refused communion with Rome 'for three years', as Pelagius himself acknowledged. Such a sudden decision was probably not due to any change in Secundus's position, but to the election of Paulus of Aquileia.

The first manifestation of Italian opposition is thus the refusal of seven bishops of Tuscia Annonaria to mention the Pope in the diptychs. Early in 557, one year after the accession of Pelagius, they had occasion to meet a Roman representative, the *defensor* Iordanes; when he went back to Rome, they addressed a *relatio*, collectively subscribed, in which they demanded that Pelagius take note of their refusal of communion, affirming that in doing so they were in accord with their congregations.⁴⁶ Pelagius's letter seems to consider them as still directly subject to Rome, as he does not mention the authority of Ravenna; and we have seen that a Bishop of Perugia took part in the Pope's consecration, a certain indication of his belonging to the Pope's metropolitan jurisdiction. It would be interesting to know whether the visit of the Roman *defensor* had been decided on by Pelagius to assure himself that these bishops of Tuscia Annonaria were in communion (which would imply that he had been informed of the disorders in the region, in an informal manner); but it is also very possible that the decision had been taken in relation to the vast enterprise of reorganizing the Roman patrimony after the anarchical final years of the war (which would suggest that the Pope had come to know the dissent of the Italian churches by chance). Not to name the Pope on the diptychs was in the mid-sixth century the classic way to express a rupture of communion. The churches of Rome and of Constantinople had often used it during the long years of schism between 490 and 519; the meaning of the gesture was not ambiguous. Pelagius's indignation is understandable; he responded to it

⁴⁶ This can be inferred from the Pope's reply: 'I am astonished that you should be so oblivious to the authority of the apostolic see that you wished that your separation from the universal Church be confirmed by our consent, and that you should have wished that the people's judgement be followed, insulting the apostolic see, whereas by right priestly teaching should extinguish popular ignorance' (Pelagius I, *Ep.* 10. 1, p. 32: 'satis mirati sumus ita uos apostolicae auctoritatis oblitos, ut diuisionem uestram ab uniuersali ecclesia meo etiam uolueritis, quod absit, consensu firmari, et quos decuit popularem ignorantiam sacerdotali doctrina conprimere, in contumeliam sedis apostolicae plebis uelle sequi iudicium').

by exhorting his correspondents to return to a more Roman discipline. He therefore undertook to explain to them, invoking the authority of Augustine, that 'anyone who breaks off subjection to the authority of, or communion with, his *praesul* is called a schismatic and that there can be no true Church unless it be rooted in communion with the apostolic see'.⁴⁷ The passage is important for two reasons. First, in expressing his astonishment (*vehementer stupeo*) Pelagius found it necessary to give a definition of schism and to make explicit the link between communion with Rome and communion with the Church as a whole, which suggests that such a link was not evident to all his correspondents. It may well be asked whether the Roman astonishment was genuine, and to what extent it misrepresented the position of the Pope's correspondents. Had they really contested the link between communion with Rome and unity of the Church (a link often affirmed in earlier centuries), or had they proposed a 'solution' similar to the action of the fathers of the Council of Constantinople when they had excommunicated Vigilius while safeguarding communion with the see of Rome? Vigilius had also been excommunicated by an Illyrian and by an African council,⁴⁸ as he had been discredited by Pelagius himself as being 'betrayed of his own judgement' (*de suis sententiis praevaricator*).⁴⁹ Secondly, the 'Augustinian' text appealed to refer to the archetypal schism among all western schisms, the Donatist. Invoking Augustine implicitly identified Pelagius's opponents as similar to the Donatists. The very use of the word 'schismatic' had great force, pointing to a serious menace, that of a division among churches. Pelagius did not yet accuse his correspondents of actually being schismatics, but warned them that they would become such if they persisted in their attitude. The Pope's tone was less conciliatory than it is in his letters to the bishops of Gaul, but it was still polite. There was no question of sanctions, but of reconciliation. 'Let your love, strengthened by our profession of faith, hasten to instruct the ignorance of men, as behoves priests, in

⁴⁷ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 10. 3, pp. 32–33: 'In schismate esse dicat, quicumque se a praesulis earundem sedium auctoritate uel communione suspenderit, nec aliam esse manifestet ecclesiam, nisi quae in pontificibus apostolicarum sedium est solidata radicibus.' Pelagius might have distorted Augustine's thought in this passage, the source of which editors have found hard to identify (see *ibid.*, n. 3, pp. 32–33); there is a similar one in Augustine's *Enarrationes in Ps.* 86, *PL*, 37, cols 1101–02. The same problem of the reference occurs with *Ep.* 24. 18, pp. 77–78.

⁴⁸ See the Introduction, p. 4.

⁴⁹ Pelagius, *In defensione trium capitulorum: texte latin du manuscrit aurelianensis 73* (70), ed. by Robert Devr  esse, ST, 57 (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 1932). Vigilius is said *de suis sententiis praevaricator* (p. 67).

a spirit of gentleness, to call them back by every possible means from the evil intention of damaging the Church's unity.⁵⁰

Three more letters concerning the reconciliation of clergy separated from Rome stated Pelagius's policy. One was addressed to the Bishop of Ravenna, Agnellus,⁵¹ another to a *comes* named Iohannes, an official who was responsible for maintaining civil order and who had the fight against the schism at heart;⁵² the third was addressed to a bishop who wished to be reconciled with Rome (this may be a formulaic letter intended to serve as a model): those who wished to be reconciled should be considered to have been seduced by the error of the schismatics (and not themselves as schismatics), and to have acted in a state of ignorance.⁵³ Pelagius's attitude had a certain success,⁵⁴ but some prelates remained obstinately in schism despite such efforts to reconcile them while, at the same time, texts in his name continued to circulate in Aemilia.⁵⁵ Apart from the ecclesiastical provinces of Milan and of Aquileia this was the case with four bishops, two of Tuscia, Secundus of Taormina and Paulinus of Fossombrone.

To overcome such individual opposition, Pelagius adopted a less lenient, but somehow indirect policy; he solicited the support of the civil authorities and accused the schismatics of various faults: Paulinus of Fossombrone was accused of having committed numerous shameful actions in a neighbouring church;⁵⁶ Maximian, a Tuscan bishop, was said to have turned the possessions of a church of which he was no longer the legitimate bishop to his own use;⁵⁷ a Bishop Eufra-
 sius,

⁵⁰ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 10. 5, pp. 33–34.

⁵¹ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 37, pp. 106–08.

⁵² Pelagius I, *Ep.* 38, pp. 109–10. The function exercised by this *comes* is not known. According to the editors of Pelagius's letters, followed by *PLRE*, III (Iohannes 70, p. 669), the reference is to the same person mentioned in Pelagius I, *Epp.* 62 and 75, pp. 163, 189–90, therefore someone in office in Liguria and in Venetia et Histria. Given the common occurrence of the name and the imprecision of the title, it could also refer to an official in the province of Flaminia.

⁵³ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 39, pp. 111–12; the bishop's name is uncertain.

⁵⁴ Laurentius of Civitavecchia and Gaudentius of Volterra could be previous partisans of the Three Chapters now reconciled: Pelagius I, *Epp.* 21, 43, pp. 64–66, 119–20 (see above, note 42). But even if this is not the case, the lack of any mention of opposition after Pelagius's pontificate is itself proof of the efficacy of his policies.

⁵⁵ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 80, pp. 196–97, addressed to a layman, the *illustris* Symeo. The province of Aemilia is part of Italia Annonaria.

⁵⁶ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 60. 1, pp. 159–60.

⁵⁷ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 65. 2, p. 172.

perhaps the Bishop of Poreč, was accused of homicide in a letter in which Pelagius demanded a more active policy from Byzantine officials against the schismatics.⁵⁸ The hardening of papal policy was also reflected in the fact that after his letter to the bishops of Tuscia Annonaria Pelagius never addressed the bishops who renounced communion with him directly. This stiffening is accounted for by the radical transformation of the situation brought about by the decisive step taken in the consecration of Paulus of Aquileia, in effect the birth of a separated church.

The Italian Schism

If the Pope maintained a fraternal tone in the first letter he addressed to the Tuscan bishops, this was to change radically when, on the death of Macedonius, a new bishop was elected to the see of Aquileia outside Roman communion. The Bishops of Milan and Aquileia had never kept communion with Pelagius, but this disdain had not until then aroused any reaction worthy of record. There is no surviving letter directly addressed by the Pope to the Christians of northern Italy, and it is possible that no such correspondence ever existed. It seems that one of the Pope's grievances was just that the Bishops of Milan and Aquileia had not communicated with Rome, unlike the Bishops of Gaul, or even those of Tuscany. In the first letter of the surviving series, addressed in February 559 to the *patricius* Iohannes stationed in Venetia,⁵⁹ the epithet 'schismatic' was used three times, clearly to designate Paulus, who, having been consecrated in a separated church, 'was cursed rather than consecrated'.⁶⁰ Pelagius urged the *patricius* Iohannes not to allow his 'Catholic mind' to be contaminated in a schismatic communion.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 53. 7–8, pp. 141–42: the letter concerns affairs of northern Italy, and the identity of name with that of the Bishop of Poreč, founder of the *basilica eufrasiana*, is striking. Their identity is, however, uncertain.

⁵⁹ The *patricius* Iohannes has the obscure title of *caburtarius*, but this is a high-ranking official, doubtless the nephew of Vitalianus, rebel general under Anastasius: *PLRE*, III, Iohannes 71, pp. 669–70. On the identification with the nephew of Vitalianus, Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 615, n. 1, is persuasive.

⁶⁰ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 24. 7, p. 75. The new Bishop of Aquileia is named Paulinus by Pope Pelagius, but Venantius Fortunatus calls him Paulus. As Venantius was a personal friend of Paulus, we should follow him on this point, though many historians prefer Paulinus.

⁶¹ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 24. 14, p. 76: 'Noli catholicam semper mentem aliqua scismaticorum communione pollueri.'

What exactly had happened? According to the letter, only partly preserved, the election of Paulus took place at Milan, not at Aquileia. It is therefore certain that like the Tuscan bishops the holder of the see of Milan, elected in 552 before the Council of Constantinople, had placed himself outside the Roman communion, though he was never personally denounced by the Pope. Interestingly enough, in his letters Pelagius was very discreet about this situation, but emphasized a second irregularity, which the incompleteness of the transmitted text does not allow us to identify. The Bishops of Aquileia and of Milan, according to established custom, consecrated each other in the city of the bishop to be consecrated, so that the general consent of the electors might be more readily recognized by all. It is usually thought that the consecration of 559 had taken place in Milan in order to conceal some division among the people and the clergy of Aquileia. But such an explanation is unlikely, inasmuch as the unanimity of the supporters of the Three Chapters was very solid and enjoyed popular support.⁶² It is more likely that the clergy of Milan and Aquileia wanted to avoid an intervention by the civil authorities like that in 552. Being consecrated in Ravenna had already been a blow to the pride of the two metropolitan bishops of northern Italy; in 559, it was altogether impossible, as Agnellus, the Bishop of Ravenna, was in communion with the Pope and an opponent of the Three Chapters.

The difference between the situation of the churches of Milan and that of the Tuscan or the Gallic churches is more complicated than appears at first sight. The consecration of a bishop outside the Roman communion certainly was an important point. But we should recall — as did, albeit with reluctance and with bad grace, Pelagius himself — that the Pope had no business to intervene in the election of the metropolitans of Italia Annonaria. The Pope claimed that ‘because it would have been too onerous, on account of the distance and the difficulty of the journey, for the ordination to be carried out by the apostolic see’, ancient usage dictated that the bishops be consecrated in their cities; this, however, is a tendentious interpretation of an ancient practice.⁶³ From what we know of the development of the episcopal network of northern Italy, Roman intervention in episcopal elections had never been contemplated before Pelagius. In suggesting that the norm would have been Roman consecration, Pelagius, on the contrary, was putting forth a novel proposal: Rome would have been charged with

⁶² This is proved by the reaction to Severus of Aquileia’s defection in 591; see Claudio Azzara, ‘Il regno longobardo in Italia e i Tre Capitoli’, in this volume.

⁶³ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 24. 11, p. 76. This is the first time that this practice of reciprocal consecration is mentioned.

controlling all Italian episcopal elections, even outside Suburbicarian Italy. Such a conception was eventually to become familiar; but to announce it at the very beginning of the schism was a novelty whose importance should not be underestimated. This was also a way of affirming an ecclesiastical unity of Italy which had, until now, never existed. In this the pope was following the political model laid down by the *Pragmatica Sanctio* (Pragmatic Sanction) of 554, by which Justinian legislated, 'at Vigilius's petition' (*pro petitione Vigilii*), for a political entity systematically defined as 'Italy'.⁶⁴ Moreover, by affirming, as he did, that Rome was the origin of the disciplinary rules which governed episcopal relations in northern Italy, not only did Pelagius imply a present subordination of the churches, but he also rewrote their history, suggesting that this subordination went back to the origins. This is not the place to return to the complex history of the churches of Milan and of Aquileia,⁶⁵ but we should note here the decisive part played by the conflict with Rome over the Three Chapters in a profound rethinking by the churches of Italy of their history. We shall return to this below.

For the present, the rupture between the metropolitan provinces of northern Italy and Rome raised unprecedented problems, in both the strictly ecclesiastical and the political sphere. The situation that Pelagius faced was in part a new one. To be sure, Rome had known schisms in Italy before now, but these arose from internal divisions in the local church, in the course of which the clergy and the people of Rome were divided into rival factions confronting each other in the city itself. Once only did the situation spread beyond Rome. Between 498 and 502, after the double election of Symmachus and Laurence, the Italian bishops had intervened to arbitrate in the case. They had met in a council summoned by King Theodoric to judge the allegations made against Symmachus. No question had arisen about communion with the Roman see. Nevertheless, it had been at this moment that the name of 'schism' had been uttered, to denounce those who had rejected the decision of the synod 'to grant an inopportune absolution', to utilize the title of a *libellus* — which does not survive — which circulated in 502.⁶⁶ The

⁶⁴ Justinian, *Corpus Juris Civilis*, vol. III: *Novellae*, ed. by Rudolf Schoell and Wilhelm Kroll (Berlin: Weidman, 1899–1900), *Appendix constitutionum dispersarum*, no. VII, pp. 665–66.

⁶⁵ On these complex dossiers of questions of hagiography, see Jean-Charles Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques: sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au X^e siècle* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1988), pp. 575–699; Rajko Bratož, *Il cristianesimo aquileiese prima di Costantino: fra Aquileia e Poetovio* (Udine: Istituto Pio Paschini, 1999), pp. 41–100; Sotinel, *Identité civique et christianisme*, pp. 287–92.

⁶⁶ This *Libellus contra synodum incongruae absolutionis* is refuted by the deacon Ennodius, *Libellus pro synodo*, in MGH, *AA*, 7, pp. 48–67.

authors of this pamphlet are not known, but their position appears to have been analogous to that of the bishops in communion with the see of Aquileia, who, having taken part in the first sessions of the synod in 501, had left Rome before the final sentence was pronounced. We know that the occupant of this see, Marcellus, had remained separated from the Roman communion until his death, sometime before 507.⁶⁷

In some respects the position of the churches of northern Italy in 569 resembled that of the see of Aquileia during the pontificate of Symmachus. The major difference was that Symmachus had never intervened to require the northern Italian churches to return to unity; he had allowed them to 'break communion with him'. It is not even certain that he intervened to ensure a succession to Marcellus at Aquileia favourable to him, a manoeuvre of which the direct authors had been the *patricius* Liberius and the Milanese deacon Ennodius, who instructed local aristocrats.⁶⁸ Pelagius, doubtless, followed the same policy until 569, until he was forced to abandon it by the policies of the defenders of the Three Chapters. After the election of Paulus of Aquileia the Pope could no longer hope that opposition to him would dissolve even with the death of his opponents. The schism was here to stay.

Although Pelagius, and some decades after him Pope Gregory I, had much recourse to the writings of Cyprian and Augustine to try to persuade the schismatics to return to communion, the schism of the Three Chapters is not in fact comparable to the Donatist schism. The division was now not within the churches, but one which detached entire regions of Italy from the Roman communion — and only the Roman communion, as the defenders of the Three Chapters insisted. Until and including Gregory's pontificate, the cohesiveness of their churches was certainly one of the strengths of the defenders of the Three Chapters, the foundation, even, of their legitimacy. This cohesion of churches around their bishop and their metropolitan was the traditional basis of the Church's unity; it was hence very difficult for Rome to take a stand against it. It is significant that the argumentation developed by Pelagius (i.e. one cannot be in the Church's communion if one is not in communion with the Bishop of Rome) in answer to the objections of the defenders of the Three Chapters was to be consistently cited by medieval canonists when seeking to define schism and to

⁶⁷ He is actually described as one of some 'enemies of your see' ('aduersarii sedis uestrae') by Ennodius in a letter addressed to Rome before 507: Ennodius, *Ep.* IV, 29, in MGH, *AA*, 7, p. 150.

⁶⁸ Ennodius, *Ep.* IV, 31, in MGH, *AA*, 7, p. 151 (to Avitus); V, 4 and V, 5, in *ibid.*, pp. 155–56 (to Avitus and his mother Helissea). See *PCBE Italie*, Ennodius, p. 622.

distinguish it from heresy.⁶⁹ This is assuredly one contribution made by the controversy to the Church's history.

The documentation at our disposal concerning the political situation comes exclusively from letters addressed to Byzantine officials. In the light of this correspondence it is often thought that defence of the Three Chapters involved opposition to imperial policy. The position was more complex and nuanced. This is revealed by analysis of the correspondence between the Pope and Byzantine officials.

The Byzantine authorities in effect took up an attitude towards the stand taken by the clergy of northern Italy which was tolerant, if not lenient. In the first place, they did not intervene in the election and consecration of the new Bishop of Aquileia as they had done in 552. If the *patricius* Iohannes was established in Aquileia, as his close relations with its bishop suggest, he at least ratified the election, perhaps had taken part in it as one of the *honestiores*. The alternative would in effect imply that the election and consecration of Paulus had been clandestine, an alternative which is unlikely considering the close collaboration between bishops and imperial officials envisaged by the *Pragmatica Sanctio*.⁷⁰ It also comes up against internal contradictions: if Paulus had been elected without the knowledge of the Byzantine authorities, that is to say in defiance of imperial rules, the Pope would not have passed in silence over a circumstance so favourable to his cause. Rather, Pelagius was placed in a position in which he had to explain — without success — that the election was invalid for purely ecclesiastical reasons. If the *patricius* Valerianus refused to take action against the Bishops of Milan and of Aquileia — though he had done so in 552 — it can only be that he had no grounds for doing so.

There are good reasons for thinking that when the *patricius* Iohannes wrote to the Pope, he was acting as a kind of spokesman for Paulus. Not only did he inform the Pope of the election of the new Bishop,⁷¹ he also conveyed to Rome

⁶⁹ Pelagius's letters about the schism were transmitted by eleventh- and twelfth-century canonical collections: Anselm of Lucca (Book 12 of the *Collectio LXXIV titulorum* 'qui est de excommunicatione'), Ivo of Chartres, and the 'Polycarpus'; see the details in the 'Introduction' of *Pelagii I Papae epistulae quae supersunt*, ed. by Gassó and Batlle.

⁷⁰ Justinian, *Pragmatica Sanctio*, in *Corpus Juris Civilis*, vol. III: *Novellae, Appendix constitutionum dispersarum*, no. VII, 12, p. 666: the judges of provinces are to be elected 'ab episcopis et primatibus uniuscuiusque regionis'.

⁷¹ As Pelagius I explicitly says, 'Relegentes litteras excellentiae uestrae [...]': *Ep.* 53. 1, p. 140.

the doubts that were being entertained about the Pope's orthodoxy, who was suspected of having acted against the faith at the Council of Constantinople.⁷²

Unlike the *comes* Iohannes in Letter 38, the *patricius* did not place his authority at the service of the papal policy. He intervened in the debate, proposing to mediate. Pelagius's first response failed to persuade him to adopt a repressive attitude towards the schismatics. In effect, after receiving Pelagius's first letter, in which the validity of Paulus's consecration was contested on the grounds of formal defects, he replied with a letter complaining of being threatened with excommunication by the Bishop of Aquileia.⁷³ How could such a situation have come about? It is clear that communion between the Bishop and the *patricius* was still unbroken, because excommunication was only threatened. It seems likely that Iohannes had conveyed to Paulus the Pope's refusal to recognize his episcopal status and that the Bishop placed him in a position of having to choose between the two communions. But in informing the Pope,⁷⁴ Iohannes was not denouncing Paulus but trying to find a solution that would allow him to remain in communion with the church of Aquileia.⁷⁵ The Pope responded by turning to Iohannes and Valerianus. From the latter he demanded that he act as he had acted in 552 and intervene against the schismatics to 'send those who have permitted themselves to behave in this manner to the most pious emperor under appropriate escort'.⁷⁶ To Iohannes he wrote saying that he should rejoice with the Pope and thank God for having been excommunicated by the schismatics, thus avoiding being contaminated by their error. Let such people be driven from the province, and let 'the authors of this crime be sent to the most clement emperor — especially the usurper of the church of Aquileia, who has been cursed in the schism, and cursed by a schismatic, and who cannot obtain the honour and status of a bishop'.⁷⁷ At

⁷² Pelagius I, *Ep.* 24. 2–4, pp. 74–75.

⁷³ That this is a threat not a *fait accompli* is explicitly said by the Pope to Valerianus: they almost tried to excommunicate Iohannes ('quasi excommunicare temptauerint'): Pelagius I, *Ep.* 52, p. 135.

⁷⁴ See above, note 71.

⁷⁵ The manner in which the Pope tries to persuade him that excommunication would be for his good proves that Iohannes was not spontaneously persuaded.

⁷⁶ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 52. 14, p. 138: 'hi qui talia praesumpserunt ad piissimum principem sub digna custodia dirigantur'.

⁷⁷ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 53. 10, p. 142: 'Quod tunc plenius fieri poterit, si auctores scelerum ad clementissimum principem dirigantur, et maxime ecclesiae Aquileiensis inuasor, qui et in scismate et ab scismatico maledictus, nec honorem episcopi potest optinere nec meritum.'

the same time he wrote to Bishop Agnellus of Ravenna to ask him to ordain to the priesthood a candidate of solid faith and pure manners, to be sent to Iohannes in order to make sure, particularly, that no name other than the Pope's be recited at Mass.⁷⁸

At the same time as he was writing to Pelagius, Iohannes sent a letter (also lost) to Valerianus. In response to this initiative Valerianus requested the Bishop of Aquileia not to be overzealous and not to excommunicate Iohannes; and he planned working with him to find means of resolving the conflict over the Three Chapters, even going so far as to wonder about 'the place where we should gather in a kind of synod'.⁷⁹ In this he was acting in plain contradiction to the Pope's desires. Instead of being ruthless with the schismatics, he negotiated with them; instead of rejoicing that Iohannes was not in communion with the schismatics, he sought to keep his links with the church of Aquileia; instead of following the Pope's behest, he took the initiative in a religious matter (calling for a council intended to respond to theological anxieties) without first consulting Pelagius.⁸⁰ All this also indicates knowledge of the current problems that could come only of close relations with clergy in the areas concerned.

The imperial authorities were unconvinced by the papal argumentation, and there is no trace of any Byzantine policy of repression in northern Italy before 584/85. Even the Bishop Eufasius, accused of homicide, was not subject to imperial censure: if he is indeed identical with the homonymous Bishop of Parentium (Poreč) who built the basilica that still today bears his name and was a defender of the Three Chapters,⁸¹ and whose portrait and name as a donor occupies a place of honour in the apsidal mosaic of the basilica, he could certainly

⁷⁸ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 50, p. 131; see *PCBE Italie*, Agnellus 3, p. 61. Agnellus succeeded Maximianus in 557.

⁷⁹ 'Nam quod celsitudo uestra dicit: Ubi conuenire debeamus et quasi synodum facere.' This is the only passage cited by Pelagius I, *Ep.* 59. 7, p. 157.

⁸⁰ Valerianus only informed Rome of the letter he had already sent to the Bishop of Aquileia: '[...] relegentes autem exemplaria litterarum quae in Aquileia ad Paulinum pseudo episcopum scripsistis [...]': Pelagius I, *Ep.* 59. 1, pp. 155–56.

⁸¹ An inscription in the basilica of Poreč, commemorating its construction 's(an)c(t)e aecl(esie) catholec(ae) hunc locum' (*Inscriptiones Italiae Academiae Italicae Consociatae ediderunt*, ed. by Attilio Deggrasi (Rome: Libreria dello stato, 1934), X, 2, no. 92) is usually considered evidence of his attachment to the cause of the Three Chapters; see Giuseppe Cuscito, 'Testimonianze epigrafiche sullo scisma tricapitolino', *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 53 (1977), 235–36. His successor Iohannes was present in the tricapitoline councils along with Helias, afterwards with Severus: *PCBE Italie*, Iohannes 63, pp. 1100–01, and see below, pp. 114–15.

not have been the object of a condemnation.⁸² Only a single intervention is documented with any certainty by the sources at our disposal: the arrest of Vitalis, the Bishop of Altino, a city of Venetia, by Narses, at some date after 566. Vitalis had taken refuge among the Franks, at Aguntum, several years earlier, but this episode was most probably linked to questions of political allegiance rather than to defence of the Three Chapters.⁸³ At this time all the bishoprics of Venetia et Histria were occupied by supporters of the Three Chapters, and Vitalis's successor, Petrus, was no exception.⁸⁴ The council that met in Grado between 575 and 582 for the dedication of the basilica of St Eufemia, gathering all the bishops suffragan to Aquileia — all separated from the Roman communion — could not have taken place without the acquiescence, and doubtless the protection, of the imperial authorities.⁸⁵

The churches separated from Rome flourished under Byzantine rule, as is shown not only by the bishop lists of Milan and Aquileia, but also by the vitality of regional councils meeting in the last decades of the century. The Lombard invasion of 568, even though brutally changing the equilibria which had become established at the end of the Gothic wars, did not at first affect the impunity of the bishops separated from Rome.⁸⁶

⁸² *PCBE Italie*, Eufrasius, pp. 670–71.

⁸³ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, II, 4, ed. by Georg Waitz, MGH, *SrG*, 48 (Hannover: Hahn, 1878), pp. 86–87, henceforth cited as *HL*; *PCBE Italie*, Vitalis 13, p. 2332. Paul the Deacon says that Vitalis had taken refuge among the Franks *ante annos plurimos*. The context of the passage, concerning the control in the end exercised by Narses over northern Italy, suggests that the voluntary exile of Vitalis was related to the war. It is true that his exile in Sicily is frequently considered punishment for ecclesiastical misdemeanor, but as a bishop, almost all kinds of demeanor would be qualified as ecclesiastical.

⁸⁴ *PCBE Italie*, Petrus 69, pp. 1761–62. He took part in Bishop Helias's council. The intervention of Narses cannot, in any case, be considered as significant; he exercised a special military authority in Italy, bestowed on him on account of exceptional political conditions (the wars of Goths and Franks between 561 and 563, the revolt of Sindual in 567), alongside the authorities at Ravenna and in Istria, including Aquileia.

⁸⁵ The conventional date of 579 is based on information given by Andreas Dandolo that is probably the result of falsification, as has been demonstrated by Ernest Stein, 'Post-consulat et autokratoria', *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles*, 2 (1933–34), 869–912 = Stein, *Opera minora selecta* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1968), pp. 315–58.

⁸⁶ For these changes, see further pp. 111–12.

The attitude of the Byzantine authorities was not as paradoxical as it appears at first sight. It is easily explicable if, contrary to what happened in 552, Constantinople refrained from giving specific instructions on how to deal with the defenders of the Three Chapters. On this supposition, their attitude sheds an instructive light on the limited significance of recognition of Roman primacy in matters of religion. Certainly the *patricii* Iohannes and Valerianus kept Pelagius informed of events relating to religious life; it may be that announcing the election of a new bishop was part of the regular procedure. Conversely, they did not consult the Pope before deciding on what policy to follow, and they did not need to take much notice of the Pope's express demands. These were, nevertheless, stated as specifically religious requirements — the *patricii* should care for their salvation, for the unity of the Church, for the salvation of the people in the regions assigned to them — never as political requirements. While the Pope explicitly invoked the laws of the empire that placed public authority at the service of religious orthodoxy, local authorities turned a deaf ear to them. It is not that they took the part of heterodoxy; the correspondence between the Pope and the *patricii* attest, instead, their desire to remain within the communion of 'the apostolic sees'.

The reasons for such an attitude must doubtless be sought in the needs of the exercise of political authority. The maintenance of public order was a matter of priority in the frontier regions where imperial authority was not securely established, as shown by the flare-up of war in 561–63 and the rebellion of Sindual in 567.⁸⁷ But it would be a mistake to think that as a consequence religious questions became comparatively unimportant. The indulgence shown by the *patricii* Iohannes and Valerianus towards Paulus of Aquileia and, perhaps, towards Eufrasius of Poreč is not evidence of indifference. Rather, it attested a desire to secure the cooperation of the religious authorities, required for the exercise of effective control over the population. All that we know indicates a strong solidarity between the local authorities and the local clergy. The significance that Iohannes ascribed to communion with the church of Aquileia, the efforts made by Valerianus to allay the anxieties of Pelagius's opponents, and their joint refusal to adopt repressive measures suggest nothing short of an agreement between the tricapitoline clergy and the Byzantine authorities.

The defence of the Three Chapters did not, therefore, express any opposition to the imperial conception of the relations between political power and religious authority. On the contrary: local ecclesiastical authorities and representatives of

⁸⁷ About these military events, see Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 610–11, and *PLRE*, III, 1155 (revolt of Sindual, not mentioned by Stein).

imperial authority worked together closely, thus pretty well reproducing the Constantinian model, revived by Justinian, of a perfect symbiosis between the two complementary powers.⁸⁸ It was Pelagius, isolated at Rome, who needed to formulate the principles of his authority in new terms. In Aquileia, as doubtless also in Milan, traditional rules still functioned. What appeared very clearly here was the primacy of local solidarities over wider loyalties, a phenomenon often observable in sixth-century and later Italy,⁸⁹ and perhaps a sign of the failure of the attempt at imperial restoration.

The Transformations of the Perception of Space and Time

An important consequence of the controversy over the Three Chapters in Italy was the development that the metropolitan authority of the see of Aquileia underwent after the election of Paulus. The defence of Chalcedonian orthodoxy was doubtless not the only cause of the ecclesiastical troubles of the later sixth century. The position of the north Italian churches should also be understood as a reaction to the transformation of traditional equilibria linked to the Byzantine reconquest of Italy, particularly to the eminent place given to the see of Ravenna, at the expense of the traditional importance of Milan and Aquileia.⁹⁰ One sign of this reaction is the use of the patriarchal title by the Bishops of Aquileia. This title, which was eventually to become the most prestigious title of the Bishops of Aquileia, of Grado, and later on, of Venice, appears for the first time as one of the charges laid by Pelagius against Paulus.⁹¹ For a long time it had been little used in the western Church; it became common in the legislative texts in which Justinian used it to designate the bishops of the five sees whose superior authority it expressed. This official meaning did not, however, become established overnight; the term was still used for Gallic bishops during the second half of the sixth

⁸⁸ It seems that, since the episcopate of Paulus, the partisans of the Three Chapters had been sending ambassadors to Constantinople to solicit imperial support against pontifical threats, as suggested by Gregory, *Ep.* II, 38, in *Registrum epistularum*, ed. by Dag Norberg, 2 vols, CCSL, 140–140A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), 140, p. 124. Gregory's letters henceforth cited from this edition unless otherwise indicated.

⁸⁹ It is found in Ravenna, particularly, during the pontificate of Gregory the Great, in the context of the conflicts over authority between the two churches. On this, see the Epilogue in this volume.

⁹⁰ Markus, 'Carthage – Prima Justiniana – Ravenna', pp. 297–98.

⁹¹ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 24, p. 74: 'Venetiarum, ut ipsi putant, atque Hystriae patriarcha'.

century.⁹² If its use was a novelty at Aquileia, its novelty lay not in the implication it bore of metropolitan authority, which had been recognized by the Bishops of Rome at least since the mid-sixth century.⁹³

This authority was expanding during the second half of the sixth century. The absence of a bishop in Milan between 536 and 552 contributed to the growing prestige of the see of Aquileia. Even though the metropolitan Bishop of Venetia et Histria did not directly intervene in the neighbouring province, the links between the two metropolitan provinces were strengthened during this troubled period. Of this a good indication is the role played by Macedonius in the succession to Datius of Milan. At the end of the fifth century the bishoprics of Verona and of Trento had been in the orbit of Milan rather than of Aquileia.⁹⁴ After 568, however, we may observe them consistently present in councils presided over by the Bishop of Venetia et Histria.

It is more difficult to estimate the impact of the controversy on Ravenna. There is no doubt that the special authority, signified by the pallium, recently conferred on Maximian went with a more specific mission concerning the schism. But there was no noticeable expansion in the circle of Ravenna's jurisdiction before the end of the sixth century. We have already noticed that nothing in Maximian's tenure of the see could be linked to Justinian's policy in the Three Chapters affair, though his appointment was certainly related to it; his successor Agnellus was, to be sure, the recipient of some letters of Pelagius concerning the schismatics, but he never acted except on papal instructions, without using this to increase the authority of his see. The great business of his pontificate was the confiscation of Arian churches, and this is the only aspect of his policy mentioned by the author of the *Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna.⁹⁵

⁹² On the traditional use of the title, see *Thesaurus linguae latinae, editus auctoritate et consilio academiarum quinque Germanicarum Berolinensis, Gottingensis, Lipsiensis, Monacensis, Vindobonensis*, 10 vols, in course of publication (Leipzig: B. G. Teubneri, 1900–), x.1, cols 743–44; the Justinianic legislation: Justinian, *Corpus Juris Civilis*, vol. III: *Novellae*, 5 (to Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantinople), 58, and 109 (in both cases used in a more generic way), pp. 28, 315, 519; late Gallic use: Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, V, 5. 20, in *Opera*, vol. I: *Libri historiarum X*, ed. by Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH, *SrM*, 1.1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1937–51), p. 217: 'episcopi cum patriarcha Nicetio beato'; *Concilium Matisconense a. 585*, in *Concilia Galliae a. 511–a. 695*, ed. by Charles de Clercq, CCSL, 148A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1963), p. 238.

⁹³ Leo I, *Ep. 1, Epistulae*, PL, 54, col. 593.

⁹⁴ For detailed discussion, see Sotinel, *Identité civique et christianisme*, pp. 393–98.

⁹⁵ Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis*, 84–92, pp. 333–36. Agnellus was also the author of an anti-Arian *Epistula fidei*, PL, 68, cols 381–86.

The Lombard invasion put an end to the union between Aquileia and Milan. Severus, the Bishop of Aquileia, left his city to settle with the treasure of his church on the nearby island of Grado, only five miles from Aquileia, a move that had no impact on his relations with the churches of the province of Venetia et Histria. According to local tradition, the whole population of the city followed the Bishop. Such was not the case in Milan; only the Bishop and a group of clerics and aristocrats fled the city to Genoa, more than eighty miles distant.⁹⁶ The Bishop was hence cut off not only from most of the churches of the province, but from part of his own clergy and the vast majority of the population. After five very obscure years,⁹⁷ a new bishop, Laurentius, reconciled himself with the see of Rome. In 573, he sent to Pope John II a *districtissima cautio*, signed by some members of the Milanese aristocracy, in which he acknowledged the error of the defenders of the Three Chapters without explicitly condemning them⁹⁸ and asked for reconciliation with Rome,⁹⁹ at the same time submitting his see to Roman jurisdiction. But he gained the assent of only a section of his community resident in Genoa, where division however survived at least into the 590s. From this time on, Aquileia was definitely alone as the head of the churches separated from Rome.

The consequences of the reconciliation were far from benefitting the Bishops of Milan. There was no question of a return to Milan; until the mid-seventh century, the bishops were to stay in Genoa, where they were buried.¹⁰⁰ They very clearly supported the Byzantine policy in Italy. In 585, the Frankish king Childebert II wrote to Laurentius of Milan to outline his project of an expedition against the Lombards.¹⁰¹ Laurentius's successor, Constantius, was eager to inform the Pope about the movements of the Alamans,¹⁰² and when the Lombard king Rothari took the city of Genoa in 649, the bishop of the time, Iohannes, fled to

⁹⁶ Paul the Deacon, *HL*, II, 29, pp. 106–07.

⁹⁷ Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, pp. 73–75, notes a contradiction between Paul the Deacon, who claims that Honorius fled from Milan to Genoa, and the catalogues of the local church, according to which Honoratus is buried in a church near Milan. The situation of his successor, Frontus, known only from the catalogue and from the medieval chronicle, is even less clear.

⁹⁸ This is clear from a letter of Gregory written in late 593, after Laurentius's death: Gregory, *Ep.* IV, 2, pp. 218–19.

⁹⁹ Gregory, *Ep.* IV, 2, pp. 218–19. Gregory was at the time either *praetor* or prefect.

¹⁰⁰ Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, p. 76.

¹⁰¹ Childebert II, *Epistula austrasica*, 46, ed. by Wilhelm Gundlach, CCSL, 117 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1957), pp. 468–69.

¹⁰² Gregory, *Ep.* X, 11, pp. 837–38.

Rome or to Sicily.¹⁰³ The reconciliation with Rome certainly did not help the Milanese bishops keep in touch with the churches under Lombard rule. When Constantius, a close friend of Pope Gregory I whom he had met in Constantinople, was elected to succeed Laurentius in 593, three bishops from Liguria rejected his communion, with the support of the Lombard queen Theodelinda, whose counsellor, the Abbot Secundus, was a staunch defender of the Three Chapters.¹⁰⁴ The defiance towards him was so strong that Gregory had to try to reassure the Milanese with an attestation that Constantius had never said a word about the Three Chapters.¹⁰⁵ This was not enough for the people of Brescia, who wanted Constantius to swear that he had not condemned the Three Chapters.¹⁰⁶ Constantius managed to establish relations with Queen Theodelinda, a Catholic though hostile to the condemnation of the Three Chapters, but he never overcame dissent in his province, as can be seen in many other occasions, not all of which were linked to the Three Chapters.¹⁰⁷ He failed to reconcile the clergy of the church of Como¹⁰⁸ and came into conflict with a Bishop Pompeianus, possibly of Pavia.¹⁰⁹ After his death in 600, when a Milanese deacon established in Genoa was elected to succeed him, the Lombard king Agilulf threatened to organize a rival election in Milan and to confiscate the properties of the Church in his territory.¹¹⁰ Though this threat seems not to have been fulfilled, it says much about the Bishop's weakness in Liguria.

By reconciling himself with Rome at a time of such political weakness — most of the former Milanese area, including Milan itself, being under Lombard rule — the Bishop of Milan had also put himself under the direct dependence of Rome. Gregory, who had himself been among the great men who had received his undertaking in 573, never completely trusted Laurentius, who had cleverly managed to become reconciled with Rome without condemning the Three Chapters.

¹⁰³ Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, p. 80.

¹⁰⁴ Gregory, *Ep.* IV, 2, pp. 218–19; on Secundus, see the definitive statement by Walter Pohl, 'Heresy in Secundus and Paul the Deacon', in this volume.

¹⁰⁵ Gregory, *Ep.* IV, 3, pp. 219–20.

¹⁰⁶ Gregory, *Ep.* IV, 37, pp. 257–59.

¹⁰⁷ Gregory, *Epp.* IV, 22, IV, 37, VII, 14, pp. 240, 257–59, 463–64, IX, 224, IX, 235, pp. 798, 818–19.

¹⁰⁸ Gregory, *Epp.* IX, 187, IX, 188, pp. 743–44.

¹⁰⁹ Gregory, *Ep.* X, 11, pp. 837–38.

¹¹⁰ Gregory, *Ep.* XI, 6, pp. 867–68.

Laurentius's pledge to get back the Milanese revenue from Sicily was received with suspicion and was granted only for the sake of the deacon Constantius, a personal friend of the Pope. After Laurentius's death in 593, Gregory probably intervened in the election of Constantius; what is more important, he implemented with Milan what was the traditional Roman discipline with dependent sees: he gave his authorization for the election, after having been informed by two clerics of Milan, one of whom had been excommunicated by Laurentius.¹¹¹ Gregory sent the pallium to Constantius — a very ambiguous honour in this case. Even if the Roman bishop wanted to honour the metropolitan authority of the church of Milan, the pallium was at the same time the expression of a strong link of dependence between this church and Rome: a complete novelty. Such a dependence was not only nominal. The Pope treated the see of Milan as a suffragan see, and Constantius in effect accepted the implications of such a status: we do not know if he traveled regularly to Rome to attend the councils (though we know that he planned at least one visit *ad limina* in 599),¹¹² but he followed Gregory's instructions in all matters, while clerics and even lay people from his church fell into the habit of appealing to Rome in cases of disputed judgements.¹¹³ When Constantius asked for Roman relics for new churches, he got them, together with a list of the rules that he should follow.¹¹⁴ The ecclesiastical structure of Italy was to be reorganized now that Aquileia was de facto excluded, but Ravenna was not to take the place of the schismatic metropolitan see. When Gregory heard that Constantius was in the habit of mentioning the name of John of Ravenna in the diptychs, he ordered him to stop unless it were an ancient tradition.¹¹⁵ One head was enough for all Italy, and this head had to be Rome.

In a letter to the clergy of Milan confirming the election of the new Bishop of Milan, Deusdedit, in 600, and protesting that the threats of Agilulf are vain,¹¹⁶ Gregory wrote that if a bishop was to be elected in Milan not by Catholics, and

¹¹¹ Gregory, *Ep.* III, 29, III, 30, pp. 174–75, 176.

¹¹² Gregory, *Ep.* IX, 235, pp. 818–19.

¹¹³ Gregory, *Ep.* IV, 37, pp. 257–59: Fortunatus, formerly protected by Laurentius, has been expelled from the *mensa* of the bishop. He asks and receives the protection of Gregory. *Ep.* XI, 1, pp. 857–59: Arethusia, heir of Laurentius, complains to Gregory that Constantius is contesting the legacy; the case is solved under Deusdedit. *Ep.* IX, 235, pp. 818–19: a blind man named Philagrius accuses Constantius of oppressing the inhabitants of Genoa.

¹¹⁴ Gregory, *Ep.* IX, 184, p. 740.

¹¹⁵ Gregory, *Ep.* IV, 37, pp. 257–59.

¹¹⁶ See above, note 110.

worse, by Lombards (*non a catholicis et maxime a Langobardis eligitur*), he would be indeed an 'unworthy vicar of Ambrose' (*vicarius sancti Ambrosii indignus*). But although Constantius had been buried *in domo sancti Ambrosi*, probably a chapel in the episcopal palace in Genoa,¹¹⁷ one might wonder if the Bishops of Milan after 573 were worthy vicars of Ambrose. They certainly had lost most of his authority and had put Milan in a completely new situation of dependence on Rome and of political and ecclesiastical weakness. The weakness was such that it was not to be overcome until the eighth century. When King Cunibert celebrated the reconciliation of the very last schismatics in 698, no Bishop of Milan was part of the process. It is tempting to say that the Lombard conquest in combination with the Three Chapters controversy actually brought a break in the continuity of the ecclesiastical history of Milan and put a brutal end to the traditional ecclesiastical structures.

The defection of Milan and its further weakening certainly increased the influence of Aquileia: in addition to the evidence of the Councils of Grado and Marano mentioned below, in which the Bishops of Trento, Sabiona, Cissa (Peljesač in Croatia), Tiburnum (Debern in Carinthia), Augsburg, Scarbianta (Sopron in Hungary), and Pedena (in Croatia) appear within the communion of Aquileia, it should be recalled that Bishop Agrippinus of Como (d. 628) presented himself as a missionary in the cause of the Three Chapters, sent by 'the very great patriarch' Iohannes of Aquileia.¹¹⁸ But this growing ecclesiastical renown was counterbalanced by political regroupings that also had their own ecclesiastical repercussions. The tricapitoline churches tended to affirm their unity despite the new political frontiers, but when Pope Pelagius II resumed an active anti-schismatic policy, he integrated it in the new geography of divided Italy.

It is indeed striking that whereas Pelagius I considered the dissident churches within a Roman imperial perspective, from 580 onward the schism was no more than the 'schism of Istria', as Pope Pelagius II referred to it in his letter to 'the

¹¹⁷ Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, p. 80.

¹¹⁸ Iohannes occupied the see of Grado briefly in 606–07. The public use of the title of patriarch, as far as is known for the first time, and the designation of the see as that of Aquileia should be noted. Agrippinus died therefore when the patriarchate was divided, and when the bishop whose seat was at Grado was in communion with Rome. The funerary inscription of Agrippinus is published by Ugo Monneret de Villard, 'Iscrizioni cristiane della provincia di Como anteriori al secolo XI', *Rivista archeologica dell'antica provincia e diocesi di Como*, 65–66 (1912), 153–54.

blessed Helias and the other bishops of Istria'.¹¹⁹ This geographical nuance is not followed by the bishops established in Frankish territory who wrote to Emperor Maurice in 591; on the contrary, they claim to be speaking on behalf of 'their provinces' (in the plural) which have kept the Catholic faith when the rest of the churches fell into error.¹²⁰ They place themselves explicitly within the Italia of the *Pragmatica Sanctio*, the Italia under the rule of the exarch.¹²¹ In the injunction he sent to Gregory to leave the schismatics in peace, Emperor Maurice named the province Venetia et Histria, which suggests that he had in mind the old Roman Italy, now a dream or at best the impossible promise of restoring the *res publica*.¹²²

Gregory, by contrast, never uses the name Venetia in his correspondence. Nevertheless, the Bishops of Aquileia succeeded in maintaining for many years after the political break-up of the province the unity of Venetia et Histria as an ecclesiastical province. The two councils called by the supporters of the Three Chapters gathered bishops from Lombard-held territories as well as from cities in imperial hands. The first of these councils was called by Helias for the consecration of the church of St Eufemia, in Grado;¹²³ the second gathered at Marano in 591. A year before this, Bishop Severus of Aquileia and three of his fellow bishops were taken by force to the exarch Smaragdus at Ravenna. They were kept there for a whole year and were forced to accept Roman communion. On their return to northern Italy, they met the forceful opposition of the other tricapitoline bishops, so much so that Severus had to read a *libellus erroris sui* in order to be received back into their communion.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ So begin all the three letters sent by Pelagius II in 585–86: *Epistolae Pelagii Iunioris Papae ad episcopos Histriae*, in *Gregorii I papae Registrum Epistolarum*, vol. II: *Libri VIII–XIV*, ed. by Paul Ewald and Ludo M. Hartmann, MGH, *Epp*, 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), *Appendix*, III, pp. 442–67 = *ACO*, IV.2, pp. 105–32. About these letters, and especially the third one, actually written by Gregory, see in this volume Straw, 'Much Ado About Nothing'.

¹²⁰ The Bishop writes about 'nostrarum tamen provinciarum venerandi decessores': *Suggerendum dominum nostrum*, in Gregory, *Ep*, I, 16A, *Registrum epistolarum*, vol. I, ed. by Paul Ewald and Ludo M. Hartmann, MGH, *Epp*, 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1887), p. 18.

¹²¹ *Suggerendum dominum nostrum*, in Gregory, *Ep*, I, 16A, MGH, *Epp*, 1 p. 20. Note the association of Italy and *res publica*.

¹²² Mauricius Augustus, *Ep*., in Gregory, *Ep*, I, 16B, MGH, *Epp*, 1, p. 19.

¹²³ See above, note 85.

¹²⁴ Paul the Deacon, *HL*, III, 26, pp. 129–32: Paul does not give a list of the bishops who met in the *Oppidum Maranum*, but he does name the twelve bishops who did not take part in this schism within the schism. Ten were from Lombard cities, among them several bishops whose sees

This episode is very significant. It shows the force of episcopal collegiality within the tricapitoline churches, and it highlights the concern of the bishops from Lombard-held territories who affirmed that if they were to abandon the cause this would provoke trouble among their congregations. There is surely a link between the cohesion of the episcopal college (and probably of a good part of the population) and their attachment to the former Roman province of Venetia et Histria. This is why the use of the designation 'Istrians' must be seen as polemical in intent: 'Istria' was no more than the eastern part of the province of Venetia et Histria, possibly the least Italian, and to describe the schismatics as 'Istrians' makes them seem somewhat alien to the rest of Italy, more Greek than Roman.

The importance of the issues at stake in the use of these names should not be underestimated. They raise the question of belonging to an entity that is both political and cultural in its nature. This, without doubt, explains why there was widespread popular reaction all through the controversy over the Three Chapters in Italy. Though we know of some lay reaction to the controversy in Africa and probably in Dalmatia, indications of the existence of popular sentiment about the matter are clearer and more numerous in Italy.¹²⁵ Such reports are always filtered through statements issuing from ecclesiastical circles, but they are nonetheless significant. Already before the Council of Constantinople, the letter to the Frankish emissaries was careful to indicate in what manner the people of the dioceses subject to Milan were affected by the ecclesiastical situation since the absence of Datius, fifteen or sixteen years before; there were no episcopal consecrations, and as a consequence, baptisms were not carried out.¹²⁶ The Tuscan bishops who refused communion with Pelagius in 557 were accused of preferring

were not represented at Helias's council: Bellunum, Asolo, Treviso, Vicenza. This time it was the Bishop of Padua, still in Byzantine hands until 601 (Paul the Deacon, *HL*, IV, 21, pp. 154–55), who was absent. Only the Bishops of Altino (perhaps already transferred across the lagoon) and of Pola, although under Byzantine control, did not follow Severus in being reconciled with Ravenna.

¹²⁵ Yves Modéran in this volume (see p. 53) quotes Victor of Tonnenna about popular reaction to the election of Primosus in Carthage. In Dalmatia, there were partisans of Frontinianus, Bishop of Salona in 552/53, who had been sent in exile by Justinian for the defence of the Three Chapters: Victor of Tunnuna (= Tonnenna), *Chronicon*, 148, 164, in *Victor Tunnunensis, Iohannes Biclarenensis: Chronicon cum reliquiis ex Consularibus Caesaraugustanis – Chronicon*, ed. by Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, CCSL, 173A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), pp. 48, 53; Gregory, *Ep.* X, 15, pp. 842–44. But we do not know precisely who they are.

¹²⁶ *Ep. legatariis*, p. 24, lines 7–10.

‘to follow the judgement of the populace in contempt of the apostolic see’.¹²⁷ In 591 the bishops who wrote to Emperor Maurice explained, among other arguments, that if the see of Aquileia were to cease to defend the Three Chapters and the Council of Chalcedon, ‘not one of our faithful would accept the authority of the church of Aquileia’;¹²⁸ and in the last sentence of their submission, they evoked ‘the grumbling of all the people of these regions’.¹²⁹ This popular partisanship must have been strong to come to light in the sources, which normally ignore it. This may be one of the reasons for the persistence of the controversy in Italy. It is explained by the fact that the defence of the Three Chapters — incomprehensible as the theological issues would have been to ordinary mortals — had been undertaken as an attempt, necessarily doomed, at resistance to change, at fidelity to ancient values threatened by the new order of things.

In the course of time, however, Gregory’s ecclesiastical province of Histria ended by being integrated into local horizons, once the rupture between the areas of the mainland and the Adriatic cities under Byzantine control was consummated. Even Bishop Iohannes of Aquileia, the first to have taken refuge on the mainland and to have sought the support of the Lombard king, utilized the term, perhaps with a political aim, to designate the bishops in communion with him;¹³⁰ and at the Council of Grado in 698 the Bishop of Grado subscribed as Bishop of Istria. The reconciliation of one part of the churches of the ancient province of Venetia et Histria marks the end of the Roman mental geography at the same time as of the traditional ecclesiastical unity.

There was, thus, a kind of threefold evolution in the perception of space: the defence of the Three Chapters created a large sphere of Aquileian influence in which the defence of orthodoxy and of Roman identity were conflated. But the political developments created another, northern, sphere, tending to isolate it from the rest of Italy (on account of the early presence of the Lombards) while including Adriatic areas in the eastern part of the Empire. For Rome, the schism

¹²⁷ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 10. 5, p. 32.

¹²⁸ *Suggerendum dominum nostrum* (as in note 120 above), p. 20: ‘nullius plebium nostrarum ad ordinationem Aquileiensis ecclesiae post hoc patietur accedere’.

¹²⁹ *Suggerendum dominum nostrum*, p. 21: ‘de murmuratione totius populi patrium istarum’.

¹³⁰ *Ep. 1, Epistolae langobardicae collectae*, ed. by Wilhelm Gundlach, MGH, *Epp.* 3, *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi*, 1, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, Wilhelm Gundlach, and others (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), p. 693. Iohannes addressed this letter to King Agilulf asking him for his support. Requesting his protection for the Istrians — was this not a way to promise him control of the lands under Byzantine control?

transformed the north-east of Italy into an entirely new entity, a 'Histria' defined by its very dissidence which separated it from the rest of Italy. One can appreciate the place occupied by an Italy of dreams, the Italy of the old treatises of administrative geography, endlessly copied and recopied, the Italy dreamed of by Paul the Deacon (c. 720–800) and the Byzantine chroniclers noting that 'there are two Venetias'.

If the geography of Italy was disrupted in the course of the quarrel over the Three Chapters, its ecclesiastical history was also profoundly affected. In this, as in other respects, the controversy acted as a catalyst of developments that had begun before it and gave them its own imprint. In saying in his letter of 559 that only the distance and the difficulty of the journey had induced Rome to allow the metropolitan sees of northern Italy to keep their autonomy, Pelagius initiated a kind of ecclesiastical reorganization of Italy. In so doing, he contributed to a wide movement, observable everywhere in Italy since the fifth century, of a rewriting of traditions. In the *Liber Pontificalis* of Rome, the entries of Popes Silverius, Vigilius, and Pelagius I were written by contemporary authors very much involved in the controversy, who gave their own twist to their narratives.¹³¹ Everywhere in the cities of Italy bishop-lists were being established to substantiate the ancient origins of the churches.¹³² It seems very likely that the controversy over the Three Chapters contributed to this enterprise.

If there is no doubt that the text of the *Passio sancti Marci* postdates the *Passio Apollinaris*, it is impossible to avoid the hypothesis generally accepted in Italy according to which the notion of apostolic evangelization was born before the division of the patriarchate (607), because the tradition is shared, with minor variants, by the churches of Cividale (heir of the episcopal succession established on the mainland in 607) and of Grado, as is attested by the bitter confrontation of the two churches' archives at the Council of Mantua in 827.¹³³ Down to

¹³¹ Duchesne, *LP*, I, pp. ccxxxi–ccxxxii and 290–304.

¹³² Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, pp. 395–535.

¹³³ Bratož, *Il cristianesimo aquileiese*, p. 59, with bibliography. However, 'the formal recognition by the emperor Heraclius, who in effect offered the church some precious relics connected with St Mark' (ibid.) cannot be taken as conclusive, because the attribution to the evangelist of the throne of St Mark (in fact a reliquary) offered by the Emperor actually originated in Grado. Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, pp. 583–86 and pp. 696–97, demonstrates the anteriority of *Passio S. Apollinaris* to the *Passio S. Hermagori*, but is not concerned with the cult in itself, which might be anterior to both cities. Whatever the date of an apostolical tradition in Ravenna, there is a local tradition, by the beginning of the sixth century, of the church of Aquileia being founded by the evangelist Mark.

Gregory the Great's pontificate, the church of Aquileia founded the legitimacy of its opposition to Rome on its fidelity to Pope Vigilius and on the solidarity of its own communion.

The revelations in the third letter of Pelagius II to the patriarch Helias concerning the part played by Vigilius¹³⁴ drew on the first argument;¹³⁵ the assents procured by Gregory from 591 weakened the force of the second argument by destroying the unanimity of Aquileia's suffragants.¹³⁶ Placing Aquileia under the patronage of St Mark was to affirm, at one and the same time, the oriental traditions of the church of Aquileia, without making them dependent on the Byzantine presence, and a fidelity to Rome — given the links between Mark and Peter — that transcended the vicissitudes of pontifical policy in the sixth century. To be Roman while supplanting Rome — was that not the ultimate ambition of Aquileia, a Roman city and Christian metropolis? An ambition that was thwarted by the progressive decline of the cause of the Three Chapters, by the permanence of the divisions of the Roman Italy of antiquity, and by the irremediable impossibility of reoccupying the site of Aquileia.

The controversy of the Three Chapters articulated a number of reactions to a series of changes that affected Italy at a time of such violent displacements that they could not be accepted without causing some stir. The social and economic disaster of the Gothic war, the inability of Constantinople to restore functioning imperial institutions acceptable to the populations, the brutal change of perspective brought about by the reintegration of the church of Rome in the Byzantine ecclesiastical geography, were all traumatic for Italy. Refusing to condemn the Three Chapters entailed rejecting the cluster of such changes in the name of another imperial model, that of which Rome had been the centre long before the coming of Christianity, and in the name of another ecclesial model, dating back

¹³⁴ Pelagius II, *Ep.* 3, in MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 455, answers the objection that the followers of the Three Chapters are keeping to their opinion following the example given by Pope Vigilius himself: '[...] hanc opitulationem excusationi uestrae adiungitis dicentes, quod in causae principio et sedes apostolica per Vigilium papam et omnes Latinarum prouinciarum principes damnationi trium capitulorum fortiter resisterunt'. The answer to this argument explained Vigilius's changes of mind. See in this volume, Straw, 'Much Ado About Nothing', p. 144.

¹³⁵ This is proven by the fact that it has completely disappeared from the repertoire of schismatic argumentation by the time that Columbanus wrote to Pope Honorius.

¹³⁶ On the success of Gregory's policy, see Azzara, 'Il regno longobardo', and Straw, 'Much Ado About Nothing', in this volume.

to pre-Constantinian times, that of churches united behind their bishops and made one through communion. The bitterness of the dispute and the partisanship of the people alongside their bishops can only be understood within such a general perspective. It is certainly no accident that the region in which the debate was sharpest was also the region most profoundly affected by the vicissitudes of sixth-century political history.

The controversy over the Three Chapters affected the political relations between the Lombards and the native populations in the areas first to be conquered, and it modified even more the fragile political equilibria that were developing at the end of the Gothic wars. It was thus a symptom at the same time as a cause — among others — of the failure of the imperial restoration in Italy.

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING: GREGORY THE GREAT'S APOLOGY TO THE ISTRIONS

Carole Straw

In the decade before his own papacy, Gregory I (590–604) served as legate (*apocrisiarius*) to the imperial court in Constantinople.¹ In that capacity he took part in the papacy's unsuccessful campaign to end the Istrian schism, which had begun at the close of the Fifth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople II, 5 May to 2 June 553). While other parts of the Empire had come to accept the Fifth Council, a score of years had not changed the Istrians. They continued to consider the Fifth Council a 'scandal' (*scandalum*) and refused to condemn writers and works the Council of Chalcedon (451) had accepted as orthodox: Ibas of Edessa and his *Letter to Mari*, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and implicitly Theodore of Mopsuestia — the Three Chapters.² As the Istrians saw it, the papacy had

¹ Gregory was familiar with the political ramifications of the Istrians' schism. As Urban Prefect in 573, he subscribed to the formal submission to the papacy tendered by Laurentius, Bishop of Milan, technically ending the schism with the church of Milan; see Gregory, *Ep.* IV, 2 (to Constantius, September 593), *Registrum epistularum*, ed. by Dag Norberg, 2 vols, CCSL, 140–140A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), 140, p. 218. Gregory's letters are henceforth cited from this edition unless otherwise indicated. Gregory retired to monastic life in 574, but in 579 Pelagius II (579–90) sent him as his legate to Constantinople (*apocrisiarius*) with the office of deacon; see Paul the Deacon, *Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni*, VII, 89, ed. by Sabina Tuzzo, Centro di Cultura Medievale, 11 (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2002), p. 10. Gregory served there until 585/86, when he returned to monastic life in Rome; nevertheless, he continued to advise Pelagius II. For Gregory's biography, see Robert A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), esp. Chapter 9, 'Scissum corpus: The Schism of the Three Chapters', pp. 125–42. I am indebted to both Robert Markus and Claire Sotinel for their sage advice on the Istrian schism.

² *Episcoporum schismaticorum epistula ad Mauricium*, 6, in *ACO*, IV.2, pp. 132–35 = Gregory, *Ep.* I, 16A, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. by Paul Ewald and Ludo M. Hartmann, 2 vols, MGH, *Epp*,

betrayed the Council of Chalcedon in supporting the Fifth Council; the latter had overturned the work of Pope Leo I (440–61) safeguarding the faith against heresies. In separating themselves from Rome, the Istrians bore witness to the true faith, the orthodox faith of Chalcedon.

As long as the Lombard War preoccupied imperial and papal authorities, the Istrians were left to their own devices, but in 585 an armistice with the Lombards encouraged Pope Pelagius II (579–90) to seek reconciliation with the schismatics. In a series of letters addressed to Elias, patriarch of Aquileia, and the Istrian bishops, Pelagius II tried to defuse the controversy and convince the Istrians of their urgent need to rejoin the Roman Church. Ironically and unfortunately, the letters did not heal the schism, but rather reinforced it. Each letter grew more insistent, more detailed, and more defensive than the last as the papacy scrambled to answer the Istrians' objections. The third and final letter of the series turned into the definitive book (*liber*) that was intended to give 'full satisfaction' to the Istrians and 'remove all doubt' about the Three Chapters. It had the power to heal the schism, if dissenters would vanquish their pride. '[T]his book, if you are willing to read and reread it, putting aside the spirit of willful self-defence, I have confidence that if you follow it in all respects, you will return to union with us, in spite of everything.'³

The *liber* was the papacy's grand opportunity to explain itself, to win over dissenters once and for all, but the papacy resorted to 'spin' and 'damage control' worthy of any modern political administration.⁴ Rather than supplying frank answers — an impossibility — the papacy spun a rhetorical yarn, entangling every issue in a web of fact and fiction. This singular document reveals a side seldom seen of its author, Gregory the Great, to wit, a politician who would sacrifice candor to expediency. In his *History of the Lombards* (III, 20), Paul the Deacon (c. 720–800) assigned this *liber* to Gregory the Great, and Paul Meyvaert's verifi-

1–2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1887–99), I, 20–21. The Istrians wrote to protest Gregory's summons to a synod in Rome for judgement.

³ Cf. Gregory, *Ep.* II, 43 (August 592), p. 132: 'Ut igitur de tribus capitulis animis uestris ablata dubietate possit satisfactio abundanter infundi, librum, quem ex hac re sanctae memoriae decessor meus Pelagius papa scripserat uobis utile iudicavi transmittere. Quem si, deposito uoluntariae defensionis studio, puro uigilanti que corde saepius uolueritis relegere, eum uos per omnia secuturos et ad unitatem nostram reuersuros nihilominus esse confido. Porro autem si post huius libri lectionem in ea qua estis uolueritis deliberatione persistere, sine dubio non rationi operam sed obstinationi uos dare monstratis.'

⁴ Cf. Robert Eno, 'Papal Damage Control in the Aftermath of the Three Chapters Controversy', *Studia Patristica*, 19 (1989), 52–56.

cation of this attribution in 1995 has been accepted generally by scholars today.⁵ The linguistic evidence Meyvaert adduces to prove his case not only reveals the distinctive signs of Gregory's composition; it also provides evidence (the use of Greek texts for which Gregory would have needed a translator) that Gregory at least began the *liber* while in Constantinople, before his return to Rome in 585/86 and his election to the papacy in 590.

Explaining away the scandal of the Fifth Council took enormous ingenuity; the papal defence evolved slowly in stages. Beginning with the painful volte-face of Pope Vigilius (537–55), popes sought to reassure critics of their orthodoxy by affirming the first four ecumenical councils: Nicea (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), and Chalcedon (451).⁶ After reversing his position as well, Pelagius I (556–61) reiterated Vigilius's confession and ignored the Fifth Council deliberately. Other popes followed suit, and in obfuscating the papacy's support of the Fifth Council, they were frankly misleading. When forced to account for the papacy's change of position, Pelagius I sketched the outlines of an explanation: orthodoxy consisted of the four councils; the decisions of the Fifth Council could be dismissed as being 'about nothing'. The Three Chapters did not treat 'matters of faith', but only 'individual persons' or 'particular cases'.⁷ By definition their

⁵ Pelagius II, *Ep. 3, Epistolae Pelagii Iunioris Papae ad episcopos Histriae*, in Gregory, *Registrum epistolarum*, vol. II, ed. by Ewald and Hartmann, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, pp. 442–67; Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, III, 20, ed. by Ludwig Bethmann and Georg Waitz, MGH, *SrLI* (Hannover: Hahn, 1878), p. 103. See Paul Meyvaert, 'A Letter of Pelagius II Composed by Gregory the Great', in *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*, ed. by John C. Cavadini (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), pp. 94–116.

⁶ Vigilius, *Ep. ad Mennam*, PL, 69, col. 25C; *Ep. ad Aurelium*, *ibid.*, col. 41D; *Ep. ad Valentianum episcopum Tomitanum* (Tomis, Scythia), *ibid.*, col. 52A; *Ep. ad Rusticum et Sebastianum*, *ibid.*, col. 48B; *Ep. encyclica ad universam ecclesiam*, *ibid.*, col. 56B–C; *Ep. ad Eutychium*, *ibid.*, cols 66D–68A; cf. *Ep. Iustiniano filio* (No. 92. 6), in *Collectio Avellana*, ed. by Otto Günther, CSEL, 35.1 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1895), p. 35. Pelagius I also affirms four councils, ignoring the fifth; see *Ep. X*, 4 (to bishops in Tuscany) and *Ep. XI*, 3 (to all God's people), in *Pelagii I Papae Epistulae quae supersunt (556–61)*, ed. by Pius M. Gassò and Columba M. Batlle, *Scripta et documenta*, 8 (Montserrat: In Abatia Montiserrati, 1956), pp. 33, 36 (Pelagius I's letters henceforth cited from this edition). See also *Ep. 40. 1, Epistolae Arelatenses Genuinae*, ed. by Wilhelm Gundlach and Ernst Dümmler, MGH, *Epp.*, 3, *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, 1, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, Wilhelm Gundlach, and others (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), pp. 59–60. For Pelagius II, see his *Epistolae II ad episcopos Histriae*, 11, in *ACO*, IV.2, p. 109.

⁷ Gregory dismisses the Fifth Council in *Ep. I*, 24, p. 32; *Ep. III*, 10, p. 158; *Ep. IV*, 33, p. 253; *Ep. IV*, 37, p. 258; *Ep. V*, 52, p. 346; *Ep. V*, 56, p. 351; *Ep. V*, 59, p. 358; *Ep. VI*, 2, pp. 370–71; *Ep. VI*, 65, p. 441; *Ep. IX*, 148, p. 700; and *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 452, lines 4–5.

condemnation did not affect the faith; the Council of Chalcedon and all other synods remained intact.⁸ But Pelagius I did not explain how this could be so — what ‘individual persons’ or ‘particular cases’ meant and why they applied to the Three Chapters. Dissenters such as Facundus were suspicious and demurred.⁹

⁸ Few scholars have treated this central argument contrasting ‘matters of faith’ (*causae fidei*) and ‘particular cases’ (*speciales causae, res de personis*). See Wilhelm DeVries, *Orient et Occident: les structures ecclésiastiques vues dans l’histoire des sept premiers conciles oecuméniques* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1974), pp. 172–80; I. Ortiz de Urbina, ‘Quali sententia “Tria Capitula” a sede damnata sunt’, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 33 (1967), 198–208; and Richard Price, ‘The Three Chapters Controversy and the Council of Chalcedon’, in this volume. According to the CETEDOC database, the *Concilium Carthaginense Sextum (Concilium Mileuitanum)* of 419 against Pelagians contains the first instance where matters of general interest to the Church are contrasted with private affairs which remain the concern of the province: *Concilia Africae a. 345–a. 525*, ed. by Charles Munier, CCSL, 149 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974), p. 364: ‘NUNC REGULAE TRACTANTUR ECCLESIASTICAE: VT IN COMMVNES CAVSAS ECCLESIAE GENERALE CONCILIVM CONGREGARI OPORTEAT: IN PRIVATIS VERO CAVSIS SPECIALE VNIVSCVIVSQUE PROVIN CIAE. 9. [Item primitus] placuit, ut non sit ultra fatigandis fratribus anniuersaria necessitas, sed quoties exegerit causa communis, id est totius africae, undecunque ad hanc sedem pro concilio datae litterae fuerint, congregandam esse synodum in ea prouincia ubi opportunitas persuaserit: causae autem quae communes non sunt in suis prouinciis iudicentur’ (‘Now the rules of the Church are treated: as a general council of the Church should be assembled for communal matters, so in private matters a special council of each province should be convened. First, it was agreed that the brothers not be wearied beyond the annual necessity, but as often as a common cause demanded (that is, one of all Africa), whence ever letters were [to be] issued to this seat for a council, or that a council [was] to be convened in the province where the opportunity prompted; but let those matters which are not in common be resolved in their own provinces’). In the polemical war over the Three Chapters, Pelagius I uses the distinction first; see *Ep.* III, 1 (to Childebert), p. 7: ‘nullas de die questiones ecclesia Dei in partibus orientis, Deo miserante, formidet, sed quaedam capitula extra fidem fuerint agitata’; *Ep.* XXIV, 2 (to John, *magister militum*), p. 74: ‘Quod si hoc, nec conflictis quidem approbationibus nulla rerum poterit ratione monstrari discant aliquando non modo se generalem ecclesiam non esse, sed nec generalis quidem partem dici posse, nisi, cum fundamento apostolicarum adunata sedium, a praecis[s]ionis suae ariditate liberata, in Christi membris coepit numerari; neque enim posse dicendus est, qui, praecipiti credulitate facili lapsu in praecipitio aurem falsitatis praestaret’; *Ep.* XIX, 19 (to Spaudus), p. 59: ‘nec illa nostra repraehensibilia scripta, sed generalis sententiam synodi a toto susceptam orbe, sibi sequendam esse praeponant’. Cf. also Pelagius I, *Ep.* LIX, 9 (to Valerian), p. 158; *Ep.* LX, 3 (to Narses), p. 160; Pelagius II, *Ep.* I, 15–16 (*ad episcopos Histriae*), in *ACO*, IV.2, p. 106; *Ep.* II, 9–10 and 14 (*ad episcopos Histriae*), in *ACO*, IV.2, p. 111. See pp. 139–42 for further discussion of matters of faith and particular cases.

⁹ See Facundus’s extensive refutation in *Pro defensione trium capitulorum (Défense des trois chapitres à Justinien)*, V, 4, ed. and trans. into French by Anne Fraïsse-Bétoulières, SC, 479 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2003), pp. 264–90.

While Pope Vigilius had begun the minimalist defence in the mid-century, until Pope Pelagius II's third letter to the Istrians no one revealed *how* the Fifth Council could be dismissed as not changing the faith, how the magic words 'individual persons' and 'particular cases' could make the problem suddenly disappear. The *liber* is the only exposition of the papacy's minimalist argument; and in its refutations of specific objections, it also allows us to reconstruct the arguments of the Istrians, whose voice is almost lost.

For historians, reading the *liber* is like entering a room when old enemies are locked in a bitter quarrel. The adversaries do not stop to give bystanders the sorry history of their antagonism; observers must know both parties well to follow the twists and turns of the argument they witness. To complicate matters, Gregory deliberately avoids addressing the main point dissenters had raised, namely, that the second or 'Robber' Council of Ephesus (449) was at the root of the problem, because it favoured heretical Eutychians and exiled the orthodox, including Ibas and Theodoret. The Istrians' defence of the Three Chapters follows that of earlier dissenters: Fulgentius Ferrandus, Facundus of Hermiane, Vigilius, and Pelagius I.¹⁰

¹⁰ Gregory does not refute the Istrians' arguments systematically, but is very discursive. Influences on the Istrians are overdetermined because dissenters repeat the same points. Ferrandus, *Ep.* 6, *PL*, 67, cols 921–23, dates from 545. Facundus of Hermiane began his *Pro defensione* in Constantinople before Vigilius arrived there in 547 and completed it before Vigilius's *Iudicatum* of the first indiction 11 April 548 (which was retracted in 550). Vigilius's next work, *Constitutum de tribus capitulis* (= *Ep.* 83), *CSEL*, 35.1, pp. 230–320, dates from 14 May 553. He condemns Nestorian propositions that had been devised by Leontius of Byzantium, but does not attribute them to Theodore of Mopsuestia. This is done by the Fifth Council when reproducing his condemnations. Vigilius refuses to condemn the departed Theodore, and he accepts Ibas's *Letter to Mari* as genuine and orthodox. Vigilius's successor, Pelagius I, strongly opposed the condemnation of the Three Chapters, until Justinian offered to support him for the papacy. His work of 554 owes much to Facundus; see *In defensione trium capitulorum: texte latin du manuscrit aurelianensis 73 (70)*, VII, ed. by Robert Devréese, *ST*, 57 (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 1932). For the dissenters, see Claire Sotinel, 'Le concile, l'empereur, l'évêque', in *Orthodoxie, christianisme, histoire: Orthodoxy, Christianity, History*, ed. by Susanna Elm, Éric Rebillard, and Antonella Romano (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2000), pp. 275–99; Sotinel, *Identité civique et christianisme: Aquilée du III^e au VI^e siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2005), pp. 306–35. For the orthodox side, see Eno, 'Papal Damage Control', pp. 52–56; and Herman M. Diepen, *Les Trois Chapitres au Concile de Chalcédoine: Une étude de la christologie de l'Anatolie ancienne* (Oosterhout: Éditions de Saint Michel, 1953). For the controversy in general, see the classic study by Émile Amann, 'Trois-Chapitres', in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. by A. Vacant and others, 15 vols (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1903–50), xv.2, cols 1868–1924 (esp. cols 1889–99); DeVries, *Orient et Occident*, pp. 167–74; Paul Galtier, 'L'Occident et le Néochalcédonisme', *Gregorianum*, 40 (1959), 54–72; and Karl F. Morrison, *Tradition and Authority in the Western Church, 300–1140* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 111–26.

A short but very important letter the Istrians sent to Emperor Maurice in 591 is the only document from their own hands recording their objections.¹¹ For his part, Gregory expands upon the minimalist arguments made by Vigilius, Pelagius I, and Pelagius II in their letters, while repeating much of the Fifth Ecumenical Council's condemnation of the Three Chapters.¹²

The *liber's* strident, sermonizing tone treats the Istrians as wicked children spoiling for rebuke; they are not legitimate opponents accorded diplomatic answers. Gregory complains that the papacy's 'peaceful intention', 'example of love and demonstration of humility' have met a chilly reception; the Istrians are not seeking answers humbly but declaring their own 'opinions' confidently as tried and true.¹³ Accustomed to the schism, the Istrians are benumbed by a coldness of mind that cannot be melted, unless it is broken.¹⁴ Their 'wounds of suspicions' need 'the Creator's medicine of clarifying truth'.¹⁵ The doctor is the pastor, whose words are the 'balm' of charity healing schisms. The pastor must rebuke and preach, for that is his duty and he will pay for sins of omission.¹⁶ Without the pastor's love, there is 'no balm in Gilead' and 'no doctor there' to heal the wound (Jeremias 8. 22) if he does not use constant exhortations to cover the sin of schism

¹¹ Vigilius, *Constitutum de tribus capitulis* (= *Ep.* 83), CSEL, 35.1, pp. 230–320. The Istrians' letters to Pelagius II are no longer extant; what does remain is their *Letter to the Emperor Maurice* of 591, protesting Gregory I's summons to a synod in Rome; see note 2 above.

¹² See above (note 6) for pertinent letters of Vigilius; Pelagius I, *Ep.* III (Childebert), pp. 6–10; *Ep.* XIX (Spaudus), pp. 55–56; *Ep.* XXIV (John), pp. 73–78; *Ep.* LIX (Valerian), pp. 155–58; *Ep.* LX (Narses), pp. 159–61; Pelagius II, *Epp.* I–II (bishops of Istria), in *ACO*, IV.2, pp. 105–12.

¹³ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 449, lines 30–45: 'haec eis collatio pacificae intentionis aperiret. tandem dilectionis vestrae scripta suscepi, non rationis causas quaerere, sed deliberati apud uos iudicii sententia imperarent. hoc autem quod vos audere de vestra sapientia video, fateor, dolens miror. et quidem per epistolas exempla, ut puto, humilitatis ostendi, amoris specimen prae bui'.

¹⁴ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 450, lines 9–10: 'longo divisionis usu quanto mentis frigore fraternitas vestra torpuerit, quae nec conficta recalescit'.

¹⁵ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 450, lines 45–47: 'sed iam tempus est ipsa nos suspicionumstrarum vulnera tangere eisque auctore deo medicamina patefactae veritatis adhibere'.

¹⁶ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 450, lines 35–38. The anchor of the exegesis is Jeremias 8. 22: 'numquid resina non est in Galaad aut medicus non est ibi quare igitur non est obducta cicatrix filiae populi mei'. Gregory explains, 'quid per resinam, quae fomentum ignis est, quae et in ornamentum domus marmora dissipata coniungit, nisi caritas designatur, quae et in amore corda succendit et ut sanctam ecclesiam unitatis ornamento componat, discordes hominum mentes per pacis in se studium ligat?' (line 40): 'quid per medici uocabulum nisi unusquisque praedicator?'

with a veil of peace.¹⁷ The pastor will be condemned for his sloth: 'What was broken you have not bound together, what was cast away you have not led back, and what was lost you have not sought' (Ezechiel 34. 4).¹⁸

Acknowledging his responsibility as pastor, Gregory shifts blame to the Istrians. The pastor's duty is to offer the medicine, but the patient's duty is even greater — to take it and get well. The Pope has preached, but the Istrians have not truly listened. 'We have cured Babylon, but it is not healed.'¹⁹ Exasperated by their obstinacy, Gregory evokes the Apocalypse, foreseeing their wretched fate. The Istrians tarry outside the sheepfold, even as the lion seeks someone to devour (cf. 1 Peter 5. 8). The vinedresser searches for fruit, but the vines are 'cut off at the root'.²⁰ Gregory laments, 'Behold, the end nears, all things are devastated, the earth is returning to solitude, so that I may say, a hurricane of destruction demolishes the world and your fraternity flees the ark. I say with Jeremiah, "O, that my head were waters, and my eyes a fountain of tears" (Jeremias 9. 1); and again, "Would that our eyes run down with tears, and our eyelids gush out with waters" (Jeremias 9. 18) [. . .] Behold, the holy and universal Church shines forth rays of unity throughout all parts of the world, but still it bears with the shade of your division.'²¹

¹⁷ *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 450, lines 41–45*: 'resina ergo in Galaad defuisse conuincitur, si pro ostendenda ueritate, cum tanta adsint scripturae sacrae testimonia, adsociando uos sanctam ecclesiam nequaquam digni ardoris caritas exhibetur; et uelut absente medico cicatrix non obducitur, si exhortatione cessante tantam scissionis culpa nullo uelamine subsequenteris pacis operitur'.

¹⁸ *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 450, lines 28–32*: 'tanto igitur damnis uestris festina debemus consolatione succurrere, quanto ea per caritatem cogimur ut nostra sentire. nam etsi differre forsitan uolumus, supernae increpationis uoce terremur, quae ignauos pastores increpans dicit: "Quod fractum erat non alligastis et quo abiectum non reduxistis et quod perditum non quaestitis" (Ezechiel 34. 4)'.

¹⁹ *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 450, lines 2–6*: 'flens gemensque cum propheta cogor exclamare: curauimus Babylonem, et non est sanata (Jeremias 51. 28). Ignem, quantum valui, caritatis accendi et tantae scissionis exurere rubiginem uolui; sed impletam prophetae sententiam peccatis exigentibus inueni, qui ait: "frustra conflavit conflator, scoriae eius non sunt consumptae" (Jeremias 6. 29)'.

²⁰ *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 450, lines 10–14 and 20–21*: "'Quia enim leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem devoret" (1 Peter 5. 8), scio, et vos stantes extra caulas ovium video. Non aptos fructibus palmites attendo, sed abscisos a radice vites aspicio, et sudantes vos operarios cerno, sed tamen laborare extra vineam non ignoro.'

²¹ *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 450, lines 13–21*: 'ecce urgente fine, cuncta uasantur, ad solitudinem terra redigitur, atque, ut ita dixerim, procella diluuii mundum subruit et uestra fraternitas arcam fugit. Cum Hieremia dicam: "Quis dabit capiti meo aquam et oculis meis

For fiery and dramatic rhetoric, this passage is rarely matched in Gregory's other writings.²²

Within this asymmetric framework of rebuke, Gregory promises to answer the Istrians' questions, recognizing that he cannot simply frighten the Istrians into conformity. He acknowledges their anxiety that doctrine has been changed: the Istrians nourish 'suspicions' that 'things done in the time of Justinian have overturned the holy Synod of Chalcedon'.²³ Following earlier dissenters, the Istrians amass citations from Leo's letters to argue that the faith must be kept intact (*illibata fides*). Gregory cites their catalogue, which reads in part: 'We dare not enter any discussion on matters defined at Nicea and Chalcedon, as God has pleased, as if what has been fixed by so great an authority through the Holy Spirit should seem doubtful or weak.'²⁴ 'Completion does not admit addition, nor perfection

fontem lacrimarum?" (Jeremias 9. 1) Et rursus: "Deducant oculi nostri lacrimas, et palpebrae nostrae defluant aquis" (Jeremias 9. 18) [...] ecce in cunctis mundi partibus sancta et universalis ecclesia unitatis sum radiis fulget, sed tamen adhuc umbram vestrae divisionis sustinet.'

²² Cf. Gregory, *Moralia in Iob libri XXIII–XXXV, XXXIV*, 1. 1, ed. by M. Adriaen, CCSL, 143B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), p. 1733; *Ep.* V, 36, p. 37; *Ep.* V, 39, p. 316; *Hom.* II, 6. 22–24, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam*, ed. by M. Adriaen, CCSL, 142 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), pp. 310–13. See esp. Raoul Manselli, 'Escatologismo di Gregorio Magno', in *Atti del primo Congresso Internazionale di studi longobardi* (Spoleto: Presso l'Accademia spoletina, 1952), pp. 383–87; and Manselli, 'L'escatologia di S. Gregorio Magno', *Ricerche di storia religiosa*, 1 (1954), 72–84.

²³ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 452, lines 1–2: 'Per ea quae pia memoriae Iustiniani principis temporibus acta sunt, fraternitas vestra suspicatur sanctam Chalcedonensem synodum fuisse convulsam.'

²⁴ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 451, lines 19–21, quoting Leo I, *Ep.* 72. 3 (to Emperor Leo), *S. Leonis Magni epistulae contra Eutychis haeresim*, ed. by Carlo Silva-Tarouca, *Textus et documenta*, Series theologica, 15, 20 (Rome: Gregorian University, 1934–35), p. 167 (henceforward cited as Silva-Tarouca): 'De rebus apud Nicaeam et apud Chalcedonem, sicut Deo placuit, definitis, nullum audeamus inire tractatum, tamquam dubia vel infirma sint, quae tanta per spiritum sanctum fixit auctoritas.' The Istrians follow Vigilius closely here; see *Constitutum*, 289–97, CSEL, 35.1, pp. 312–15; cf. Facundus, *Pro defensione*, II, vi, 14, SC, 471, p. 346, and Pelagius I, *In defensione*, 6, ST, 57, p. 67. The Istrians' focus on Leo throughout probably has its genesis in Vigilius, *Constitutum*, 236–307, CSEL, 35.1, pp. 296–318. The first Council of Ephesus (431) condemned Theodore's symbolum but not his person (*Constitutum*, 205–07, *ibid.*, p. 287); the dead should not be condemned (*Constitutum*, 210 and 219, *ibid.*, pp. 289 and 292). The second or 'Robber' Council (449) erred in anathematizing Theodoret (*Constitutum*, 223, *ibid.*, p. 293), but the Council of Chalcedon will vindicate him as orthodox (*Constitutum*, 221–25, *ibid.*, pp. 293–94). The restoration of Ibas of Edessa is central. Vigilius holds that Ibas was wrongly deposed by the Robber Council of Ephesus and rightly restored by the Council of Chalcedon. Chalcedon judged that Ibas's *Letter to Mari* was *innoxium*, after examining him rigorously (*Constitutum*, 256, *ibid.*, p. 303). Vigilius stresses that Leo forbade that the judgement

change.²⁵ 'Nor must what has been fully defined be brought again into any discussion, lest we should seem to be subject to the will of men condemned to have doubts concerning things which it is clear agree in everything with the authority of prophets, evangelists, and apostles.'²⁶ 'Let the Catholic faith which alone gives life and sanctifies humanity abide in one confession and the dissensions which spring from the variety of earthly opinion be driven away.'²⁷ To change faith would be sacrilegious; Leo does not deviate from what has been revealed by the Holy Spirit.²⁸

At the crescendo of this recitation, Gregory stops abruptly. The Istrians are wrong, and he will set the record straight. 'These things, dearest brothers, which you set forward, are words of blessed Leo to the Emperor Leo; they are brought forward specifically by him to preserve the inviolable faith, not however for the particular concerns of bishops decided at Chalcedon.'²⁹ Gregory seems satisfied that this distinction solves everything. The Istrians' arguments are 'overturned' if Leo meant to confirm only the narrow definition of the faith established at Chalcedon, rather than the substance of the entire council.³⁰ If Gregory can prove

on Ibas and his letter be overturned, and also that papal legates had authority not only in matters of faith, but also in the restoration of bishops wrongfully deposed (*Constitutum*, 283–307, *ibid.*, pp. 310–18). Since the argument between the papacy and dissenters is expressed as differing definitions of inviolable faith, the original context of the disagreement — the Robber Council's doctrine, and particularly, its deposition of Ibas — can be difficult to discern.

²⁵ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 451, lines 23–24, quoting Leo I, *Ep.* 72. 2 (to Emperor Leo), Silva-Tarouca, p. 166: 'Perfectio incrementum et adiectionem plenitudo non recipit.'

²⁶ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 454, lines 10–12, quoting Leo I, *Ep.* 72. 2 (to Emperor Leo), Silva-Tarouca, p. 166: 'nec in aliquam disceptationem [pie et] plene definita reuocanda sunt, ne ad arbitrium damnatorum ipsi de his uideamur ambigere, quae manifestum est per omnia prophetis et euangelicis atque apostolicis auctoritatibus consonare'.

²⁷ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 451, lines 43–45, quoting Leo I, *Ep.* 72. 1 (to Emperor Leo), Silva-Tarouca, p. 165: 'catholica fides, quae humanum genus sola vivificat, sola sanctificat, in una confessione permaneat et dissensiones, quae de terrenarum opinionum varietate nascuntur, a soliditate illius petrae supra quam civitas dei aedificatur, abigantur'.

²⁸ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 454, lines 18–24, quoting a lost letter of Leo I to Aëtius.

²⁹ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 451, lines 37–39: 'haec sunt, fratres dilectissimi, quae beati Leonis ad Leonem principem verba posuistis, quae videlicet ab eo pro custodia inlibatae fidei, non autem pro causis episcoporum specialibus quae apud Chalcedonam gestae sunt, proferuntur'.

³⁰ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 452, lines 8–12: 'Quid igitur, cum prohiberet definita convelli, ammonitionem protinus de custodia catholicae fidei subiunxit, et quia non hoc de retractandis causis specialibus, sed de sola fidei professione dixisse indicavit? Illa namque nunc in vestra quaestione vertuntur, quae ipse quoque praedecessor noster beatus Leo diiudicat, dum non

this, then it follows that the Istrians are only seeking to make trouble, refusing to submit to the authority of the fathers while pretending to adhere to it.³¹ The Istrians will be obliged to end their schism or be condemned as sinners.

The significance of this argument is unclear unless one appreciates the emphasis dissenters placed on the inviolability of the *whole* council as establishing orthodoxy. Dissenters were adamant that the *entire* Council of Chalcedon had to be preserved intact, because this included the later disciplinary sessions that restored Ibas of Edessa, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and other orthodox bishops unjustly deposed by Dioscurus at the Robber Council of Ephesus in 449. Although the restoration of Ibas and Theodoret took place after dogma was defined at the end of the Sixth Session (i.e. in Sessions 8–10 on 26–28 October), their rehabilitation *did* concern the faith of Chalcedon and had to remain inviolate.³² To reject the Three Chapters was to invalidate the Christology of the Synod of Chalcedon, because that synod had accepted the writings of Ibas of Edessa and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. Ibas's writings had been judged 'inoffensive' (*innoxium*); nor had the writings of Theodoret been condemned. (He had reassured the council of his

nisi ea quae apud Chalcedonam de fide sunt statuta confirmat.' This distinction of confirming only defined faith exclusive of special concerns appears in Pelagius II's second letter to the Istrians in *ACO*, IV.2, pp. 109–10. DeVries rightly observes that Gregory distorts what Leo meant: see *Orient et Occident*, pp. 172–74.

³¹ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 452, lines 4–5: 'at postquam nihil nunc aliud nisi de personis agitur, nihil de sancta Chalcedonensis synodi professione truncatur, quid aliud quam in verbis pacis iurgia quaeritis et auctoritatem patrum quasi sequendo declinatis?'

³² Ferrandus, *Ep.* 6. 3, *PL*, 67, col. 923: 'Totum concilium Chalcedonen, cum est totum concilium verum est: nulla pars illius habet ullam reprehensionem; quicquid ibi dictum, gestum, iudicatum novimus atque firmatum, sancti Spiritus operata est ineffabilis et secreta potentia.' Facundus accepts the distinction between dogmatic and disciplinary sessions, but argues that the entire synod must be kept, contrary to what some maintain. It does not matter in what session the matters of Theodoret and Ibas were treated; Leo affirms that he gave approval through both his vicars and his acceptance of the synod. See *Pro defensione*, V, iv, 1–2, SC, 479, p. 264: 'Verum quia et hoc satis apparuit, quoniam uel si, ut fictum est, Theodoretus atque Ibas episcopi non interessent ante definitionem Chalcedonensi concilio, non ex eo fuerat excusandum; illud etiam disquiramus, quale sit, quod dicentes ad Romanam Ecclesiam definitionem tantum fidei, non etiam gesta concilii Chalcedonensis fuisse perlata, ex hoc uolunt efficere ut credamus quod in ipsa tantum fidei definitione beatus Leo synodi Chalcedonensis decreta firmauerit, et nos quoque memoratam epistolam uenerabilis Ibae damnemus, cum ille dicat, quemadmodum secundo libro iam memorauimus: [2] Et fraterna uniuersitas, et omnium fidelium corda cognoscant, me non solum per fratres qui uicem meam executi sunt, sed etiam per approbationem gestorum synodaliū, propriam uobiscum unisse sententiam.' See also *Pro defensione*, II, vi, 14–16, SC, 471, pp. 346–48. Cf. Vigilius, *Constitutum*, 289–305, CSEL, 35.1, pp. 312–17.

orthodoxy by condemning Nestorius.) In other words, Chalcedon's criticism of Cyril's Apollinarian excesses remained on record; Monophysitism was clearly heretical. For these reasons, one could not repudiate those three Chapters (or Sessions) in which the orthodox bishops had been restored and their writings accepted because they were at the centre of the Chalcedonian restoration.³³ As dissenters saw it, the Three Chapters *did* touch the core of Christian beliefs.

To the Istrians, orthodoxy meant above all defending Chalcedon (and with it, the Three Chapters). 'We follow the definition of the holy Council of Chalcedon in all things and show reverence for it in the defence of its chapters', they will write to Emperor Maurice in 591.³⁴ Chalcedon is a necessary corrective to the excesses of the Robber Council, where the Emperor's absence had led to 'the worst scandal' possible, the 'murder' of Flavian, Bishop of Constantinople, and the exclusion of orthodox bishops. Fortunately, the Emperor did watch over the next council at Chalcedon, so that 'by removing scandals, he restored orthodoxy'.³⁵

Chalcedon meant retribution for the orthodox and their cause: the vindication of Flavian and the punishment of Dioscorus; the restoration of bishops and the rehabilitation of works that had been unjustly condemned. It would be absurd to separate beliefs from the people who were persecuted because of them. In righting

³³ Because the three *capitula* refer not to three rubrics on a syllabus (the writings of Theodore, Ibas, and Theodoret) but to three sessions of the Council of Chalcedon itself, to question writings approved by the council also opened questions about the *Symbolum* it approved. Could it also be retracted? Questioning the Three Chapters impeached the orthodoxy of the council: cf. Ferrandus, *Ep.* 6. 3–7, *PL*, 67, cols 923–26; Pelagius I, *In defensione*, 5, *ST*, 57, pp. 52–53. To Facundus, to condemn Ibas's letter was to condemn not only the synod which accepted its orthodoxy, but also Leo himself; see *Pro defensione*, II, vi, 20, *SC*, 471, p. 348. See Amann, 'Trois- Chapitres', col. 1869; Diepen, *Les Trois Chapitres au Concile de Chalcédoine*, pp. 99–100.

³⁴ *Ep. ad Mauricium*, 6, in *ACO*, IV.2, p. 133: 'Quorum nos exempla deo propitiante seruantes cum universo populo nobis credito, sequentes etiam in omnibus definitionem sancti Chalcedonensis concilii, defensionem capitulorum ipsorum et reuerentiam exhibemus et a communione damnantium cum diuina gratia abstinere dinoscimur.'

³⁵ *Ep. ad Mauricium*, 13–15, in *ACO*, IV.2, p. 134: 'sic Theodosii senioris Constantinopolitana synodus, deo propitiante, sedatis est scandalis confirmata; sic deinde Ephesena prima synodus diuinae memoriae Theodosio iuniore disponente bene noscitur definitum; sic ad postremum praesentia Marciani diui principis abscessis omnibus scandalis pax catholica in Chalcedonensi concilio reformata est. nam per absentiam Christianissimorum principum in Ephesena secunda episcoporum congregatione a Dioscoro Alexandrino Flauianus sanctissimus regiae uestrae urbis episcopus ueritatem catholicae fidei defendens occisus est aliique episcopi assertores orthodoxae fidei iniuste deiecti sunt et scandalum ecclesiae pessimum generatum est, quod cum magno labore postea diuinae memoriae Marcianus imperator, auus uestrae pietatis, sua praesentia in sancto Chalcedonensi consilio amputans, catholicam pacem uniuersali ecclesiae restaurauit.'

the balance, the bishops of Chalcedon condemned Eutyches, whom the Robber Council had declared orthodox, and they approved the Tome of Leo, which the Robber Council had refused to entertain. Where the *Twelve Anathemas of Nestorius* by Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444) took centre stage at the Robber Council, Chalcedon's Council relegated them to the back pages of its *Acta*. To the Istrians, Chalcedonian orthodoxy meant that the ultra-Cyrrillians had been routed. To reverse that vindication would be to turn the clock backwards, reviving the errors of the Robber Council, and licensing the worst excesses of the Eutychians.³⁶

Rather than answer the Istrians directly, Gregory circumvents their objections; he redefines the issue to focus on terminology rather than substance. Gregory acknowledges that faith is inviolable, but he restricts faith to only the narrow definition of faith declared by Chalcedon at the end of the Sixth Session. Both sides cite Leo to make their cases. One can thank Leo's peculiar behaviour after the council for this irony. In the later sessions of the Council of Chalcedon (after dogma had been defined at the end of the Sixth Session), Leo's rival, Anatolius, patriarch of Constantinople, engineered a coup.³⁷ With the collaboration of some bishops and the intimidation of others, he succeeded in elevating himself as head of the eastern churches, seating himself before the patriarch of the ancient see of Antioch.³⁸ In

³⁶ Dissenters were aware of the politics of councils. Facundus believed that heretics wished to see the Council of Chalcedon overturned and this explained why the Three Chapters were condemned; see *Pro defensione*, II, esp. I, 1, i, 13, SC, 471, pp. 264–72, and II, iii, 22–26, SC, 471, pp. 302–06; II, vi, 15–25, SC, 471, pp. 346–54; and V, i, 5–6, SC, 479, pp. 214–16. Cf. Pelagius I, *In defensione*, 2, ST, 57, pp. 2–5; 5, ST, 57, pp. 52–53; 6, ST, 57, pp. 66–68. Vigilius pointed out the role of partisans of the Robber Council, disgruntled by the Council of Chalcedon: *Constitutum*, 272–80, CSEL, 35.1, pp. 306–09. For the Robber Council, see Aloys Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, trans. by John Bowden, 2 vols (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1964), I, 525; Charles-Joseph Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church from the Original Documents*, 5 vols (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1883), III, 241–462; Henry Chadwick, *The Church in Ancient Society: From Galilee to Gregory the Great* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 562–66. The acts of the Robber Council were read in the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon, *ACO*, II.1.1, pp. 88–101 (Greek); *ACO*, II.3.1, pp. 42–92 (Latin).

³⁷ Anatolius is a frequent subject, e.g., *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 452, citing Leo I, *Ep.* 39 (to Anatolius), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 100–01 and 102; *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 452, lines 21–23, citing Leo I, *Ep.* 41 (to the Synod of Chalcedon condemning *ambitus* evident at the council), Silva-Tarouca, p. 107; *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 452, lines 25–28, citing Leo I, *Ep.* 163 (to Anatolius), *PL*, 54, col. 1147; *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, pp. 452, line 43 – 453, line 2, citing a lost letter of Leo to Anatolius.

³⁸ Canon 6 of Nicea guarantees 'ancient customs'. Alexandria would have jurisdiction over Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, while the see of Antioch would have authority over the three provinces of Palestine, with Rome in the West. Canon 7 of Nicea placed the Bishop of Jerusalem

violation of Canon 6 of the Council of Nicea, the Council of Chalcedon subjected eastern bishops to the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople in its ninth and seventeenth canons, and in the seventh canon, the council allowed Juvenal to carve out his patriarchate of Jerusalem from land held by Maximus, patriarch of Antioch.

The capstone — and final insult — was Canon 28, elevating Constantinople as the apostolic see of the ‘New Rome’, second in power to the old Rome.³⁹ At Chalcedon’s final session, papal legates protested that bishops had been forced to subscribe to canons previously unknown. Although eastern bishops denied being coerced, the legates demanded that their objections be recorded to alert Leo to take action. Despite the legates’ objections, the bishops passed the canons anyway.⁴⁰

next after Antioch. Rank was manifest in the hierarchy of the seating at synods and figures large with Facundus, *Pro defensione*, V, iv, 3–10, SC, 479, pp. 266–70.

³⁹ See Thomas Owen Martin, ‘The Twenty-Eighth Canon of Chalcedon’, in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Aloys Grillmeier and Heinrich Bacht, 3 vols (Würzburg: Echter, 1950–54), II, 433–58 (p. 435). Canon 7 assigned primatial jurisdiction over the three provinces of Palestine, formerly under the see of Antioch, to Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem. Papal legates agreed to this at the time; see André de Halleux, ‘Le vingt-huitième canon de Chalcédoine’, *Studia Patristica*, 19 (1989), 28–36; and Trevor Jalland, *The Life and Times of St Leo the Great* (London: SPCK, 1941), p. 303. See also Emil Herman, ‘Der konstantinopolitanische Primat’, in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, ed. by Grillmeier and Bacht, II, 457–90 (esp. pp. 472–80).

⁴⁰ Latin and Greek sources differ slightly on the Session of 31 October; cf. *ACO*, II.1.3, pp. 86–99 (Greek, *Actio XVII*) and *ACO*, II.3.3, pp. 101–14 (Latin, *Actio XVI*). The papal legate Paschasius demanded that the minutes be read (the legates had withdrawn from discussion of the twenty-eighth canon). Another legate, Lucentius, protested that many bishops had been forced into subscribing to canons (plural — not just Canon 28) which were hitherto unknown. The Greeks flatly denied coercion: ‘LUCENSIUS: [. . .] quia circumventionem cum sanctis episcopis gestum sit, ut non conscriptis canonibus, quorum mentionem fecerunt, subscribere sint coacti. ET INTERPRETATA VOCE PER BERONICIANUM DEVOTUM SECRETARIUM DIVINI CONSISTORII REVERENTISSI EPISCOPI CLAMAVERVNT: Nemo coactus est’ (*ACO*, II.3.3, p. 108) and ‘Λουκίνσιος ὁ εὐλαβέστατος ἐπίσκοπος τοποτηρητῆς τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου εἶπεν· Πρώην ἡ ὑμετέρα ἐνδοξότης ἐδοκίμασεν ὅσα ἐπὶ παρουσίαι τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐπράχθη, ἵνα μὴ τις κατὰ ἀνάγκην ὑπογράψαι τοῖς μνημονευθεῖσι κανόσι βιασθῇ; Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἐβόησαν· Οὐδεὶς ἡναγκάσθη’ (*ACO*, II.1.3, p. 94). The legate Boniface read from a document demanding that prerogatives be defended, and Paschasius read Canon 6 of Nicea. Lucentius demanded that the council rescind anything contrary to the canons done in the legates’ absence and that their protest be entered into the Acts to warn Leo. ‘Sedes apostolica nobis praesentibus humiliari non debet: et ideo quaecumque in praeiudicium canonum uel regularum hesternae die gesta sunt nobis absentibus, sublimitatem uestram petimus, ut circumduci iubeatis: sin alias, contradictio nostra his gestis inhaereat, ut nouerimus quid

But after the council, Leo wrote several letters of protest, annulling those canons in violation of the Council of Nicea.⁴¹ (Leo had similarly protested against the Robber Council and had written letters calling for a new synod — Chalcedon.) In 452, Leo finally confirmed the council, but only conditionally. While he accepted Chalcedon's definition of faith, he condemned those canons at odds with the canons of Nicea. In his letters, Leo singled out Anatolius as the arch-villain. In his 'pride' and 'ambition', Anatolius had 'intimidated' bishops, caused an 'uproar', and 'extorted' canons from the council.⁴² Leo also condemned Juvenal of Jerusalem and his creation of the patriarchate of Jerusalem.⁴³

apostolica uiro uniuersalis ecclesiae Papae referre debeamus: ut ipse aut de suae sedis iniuria, aut de canonum euersione posit ferre sententiam' (*ACO*, II.3.3, pp. 113–14). The synod defied the legates: 'quod interlocuti sumus, tota synodus approbabit' (*ACO*, II.3.3, p. 114, and *ACO*, II.1.3, p. 99). See the discussion in Hefele, *History of the Councils*, III, 422–33.

⁴¹ Leo I, *Ep.* 37 (to Emperor Marcian), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 93–96; *Ep.* 38 (to Pulcheria), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 97–100; *Ep.* 39 (to Anatolius), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 100–05; *Ep.* 41 (to bishops of the synod), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 106–08; *Ep.* 45 (to Emperor Marcian), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 120–22; *Ep.* 46 (to Pulcheria), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 122–23; *Ep.* 42 (to Maximus of Antioch), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 108–12; *Ep.* 162 (to Emperor Leo), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 165–68.

⁴² Leo I, *Ep.* 39 (to Anatolius), Silva-Tarouca, p. 101: '[...] cuius prima est labes superbia initium transgressionis, et origo peccati quoniam mens potentiae auida [...]'], and p. 102: 'Nimis ergo haec inproba, nimis prava sunt, quae sacratissimis canonibus inveniuntur esse contraria. In totius Ecclesiae perturbationem superba haec tendit elatio, quae ita abuti uoluit concilio synodali, ut fratres in fidei tantummodo a negotio conuocatos, et definitione eius causae quae erat curanda, perfunctos, ad consentiendum sibi aut deprauando traduceret, aut terrendo compelleret'; *Ep.* 37 (to Emperor Marcian), Silva-Tarouca, p. 94: 'miror et doleo quod pacem uniuersalis Ecclesiae reformatam ambitionis rursus spiritus inquietat [...] custodire tamen debuit, ut quod uestro beneficio noscitus consecutus, nullius cupiditatis prauitate turbaret [...] multum Anatholius episcopus detrahit merito, si illicito crescere optat aumento [...]'], and p. 95: '[...] obsecro ut ausus inprobos, unitati christianae pacique contrarios, ab omni pietatis uestrae abdicetis assensu et fratris mei Anatholii nocituram ipsi si perstiterit cupiditatem salubriter conprimatis [...]']; *Ep.* 38 (to Pulcheria), Silva-Tarouca, p. 96: 'intemperanta cupiditas', and pp. 98–99: 'Superbus nimis et inmoderatum est ultra proprios terminos tendere, et antiquitate calcata alienum ius uelle praeripere'; *Ep.* 42 (to Maximus of Antioch), Silva-Tarouca, p. 110: '[...] quod si quid a quoquam contra Nichaenorum canonum, in quacumque synodo uel tentatum est, uel ad tempus uidetur extortum [...]', and p. 112: 'Subrepiendi enim occasiones non praetermittit ambito. Quotiens ob occurrentes causas generalis congregatio facta fuerit sacerdotum, difficile est ut cupiditas inprobiorum non aliquid supra mensuram suam adpetere [...]']. See also *Ep.* 45 (to Emperor Marcian), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 120–22; *Ep.* 46 (to Pulcheria), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 122–23.

⁴³ Cf. Leo I, *Ep.* 42 (to Maximus of Antioch), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 110–12.

After the Fifth Council, dissenters such as Facundus resisted the ‘minimalists’ who claimed that Leo’s proclamation of Chalcedon’s inviolability was restricted merely to dogma in the Sixth Session — that Leo allowed later sessions of Chalcedon in general to be overturned. Facundus even charged that this argument was made by heretics seeking to overthrow the council.⁴⁴ While rejecting those canons violating Nicea, Leo confirmed all the council’s other deeds, especially those sessions affirming Ibas and Theodoret because the council had been called in order to restore orthodoxy — to check Eutychianism and rehabilitate those persecuted for their orthodox beliefs. All sessions had to be preserved intact because orthodoxy was at issue in the condemnation of orthodox persons; Leo only rejected canons codifying usurpations.⁴⁵ Well aware of the hostility between Anatolius and Leo, Facundus cites numerous letters documenting Leo’s battles against Anatolius’s usurpations, and the gist of Gregory’s responses to the Istrians suggests that they were following Facundus.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, II, v, 8, SC, 471, pp. 342–46; see also note 32 above.

⁴⁵ This contention that all acts must be preserved is part of a longer exchange. Vigilius had made the original point that Leo forbade changing Chalcedon’s decisions because it would restore the heretical positions of the Robber Council of Ephesus: see *Constitutum*, 274–307, CSEL, 35.1, pp. 307–18. Partisans of the Fifth Council must have raised the point that Leo *did* want to change the council’s decisions when he declared certain canons void. Debate then focussed on determining exactly what Leo meant in saying that a council’s decisions were inviolable, but that canons in violation of those of Nicea were null and void. Dissenters turned to the historical context to answer the question. Facundus stresses that Leo objected *only* to Anatolius’s usurpation, *not* to Ibas’s letter (or anything else of the Three Chapters). Facundus (*Pro defensione*, V, iv, 3–7, SC, 479, pp. 266–68) quotes Leo I, *Ep.* 41 (to bishops of the synod: Silva-Tarouca, pp. 106–08) at V, iv, 6–7; and Facundus says at V, iv, 5 (SC, 479, p. 268): ‘Non ergo ex his atque huiusmodi, quae uel ad ipsum Anatolium, uel ad alios contra ipsum Anatolium beatissimus Leo scripsit, putemus ab eo concilii sententiam reprobata, quae super epistula Ibae prolata est. Quoniam idcirco ait sanctam synodum ad extinguendam solam haeresim et ad confirmationem fidei Catholicae studio Christianissimi principis congregatam, ut ea quae pro ambitione Constantinopolitani episcopi fuerant usurpata dissolueret, quod in aliis quoque scriptis eius multo amplius apparebit.’

⁴⁶ Gregory cites partially many of the same letters of Leo which Facundus had cited more fully to prove Leo’s conflict with Anatolius. For example, Gregory omits the italicized lines in Leo I, *Ep.* 39 (to Anatolius), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 101–02: ‘*Quibus inauditis et nunquam ante temptatis ita praeuenires excessibus*, ut sanctam synodum ad extinguendam solum heresim et ad confirmationem fidei catholicae studio christianissimi principis congregatam, in occasionem ambitus trahas [...]’; cited in *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 452, lines 14–16. Gregory uses the selection to argue that faith means the profession of faith, while Facundus cites the whole passage to argue that Leo opposed Anatolius’s ambitions; see Facundus *Pro defensione*, V, iv, 8, SC,

The dissenters had historical facts on their side. Leo had been determined to rehabilitate those condemned in 449; he did call for a synod to reverse the deeds of the Robber Council. Leo did invalidate only those canons that codified the usurpations of Anatolius (and secondarily those of Juvenal), because these were in violation of Nicea, and he made clear that Anatolius and Juvenal were the culprits. These canons had in fact provoked an uproar at Chalcedon itself.

Gregory's assertion that the Fifth Council changed nothing rests on a misreading of Leo's letters and a disregard of the historical context. To win his argument with the Istrians, Gregory focuses on explaining away a particular passage from Leo's *Ep.* 42 to Maximus of Antioch, which he claims is the source of the clouds of suspicion (*suspicionum nebulas*) cast over Chalcedon.⁴⁷

In *Ep.* 42, Leo distances himself from his vicars, the papal legates, who had run amok those final days of the council, demanding that their protests be recorded for the sake of Leo's future actions. Leo reassures Maximus that he does not accept what transpired there — the usurpation of Antioch's privileges:

Of course, if the brothers sent as my vicars to the holy synod have done anything beyond what pertains to matters of faith — which is prohibited — it will have no authority whatsoever, since they were instructed by the apostolic see for this alone, to defend the

479, p. 270, and V, iv, 18, SC, 479, p. 276. Citing Leo I, *Ep.* 39, Gregory selects only part of a passage, omitting a broad condemnation of decisions arising from councils subject to coercion; see Leo I, *Ep.* 39, Silva-Tarouca, p. 102 (the omission is italicized): '*Nimis ergo haec improba, nimis prava sunt, quae sacratissimis canonibus inveniuntur esse contraria. In totius Ecclesiae perturbationem superba haec tendit elatio, quae ita abuti uoluit concilio synodali, ut fratres in fidei tantummodo a negotio conuocatos, et definitione eius causae quae erat curanda, perfunctos, ad consentiendum sibi aut deprauando traduceret, aut terrendo compelleret*'; cited in Gregory/Pelagius II, *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 452, lines 16–18. In *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 452, lines 19–23, Gregory cites part of Leo I, *Ep.* 41 (to bishops of the synod: Silva-Tarouca, pp. 106–08), which Facundus had cited more fully as evidence that Leo disapproved only of Anatolius, while approving the rest of the council. Gregory cites Leo's validation of the council, but omits Leo's invalidation of the ambitions that violated the canons of Nicea; see Facundus, *Pro defensione*, V, iv, 2–3, SC, 479, pp. 266–68, and II, 6, 14, SC, 471, p. 346; see also note 32 above. Since various forms of coercion or intimidation were used to gain consent to the Fifth Council — first on Vigilius during the council, later on bishops, especially in the West, and finally on parishioners (in Africa) — the whole of Leo's comments would have been useful to dissenters.

⁴⁷ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 463, lines 18–19. Given that Facundus and other dissenters never rested their arguments on such limited terrain, one may question whether the Istrians did, or whether Gregory delimits so narrow a battlefield in order to declare an arbitrary victory.

faith by eliminating heresies. For whatever is set before the bishops for inquiry, beyond the particular matters of synodal council, may be allowed a certain free discussion.⁴⁸

Gregory ignores the critical context. Leo's letter is meant to encourage Maximus of Antioch, who, like the patriarch of Alexandria, had borne the insults of Anatolius and Juvenal.⁴⁹ Leo assures Maximus that he upholds the Nicene canons that give Antioch the privileges of the third see, issuing a general proclamation 'that if in any synod anyone makes any attempt upon or seems to take occasion to extort advantage from the provisions of the Nicene canons, he can inflict no discredit on their inviolable decrees; and it will be easier to dissolve the pacts of a conspiracy than invalidate the canons in any way'.⁵⁰

It is within this context of annulling specific canons that Leo comments that particular cases can be changed, having disavowed any improper deed of his legates.⁵¹ What Gregory quotes is Leo's reason for annulling the canons

⁴⁸ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 452, lines 14–16; cf. Leo I, *Ep. 42* (to Maximus of Antioch), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 111–12. Gregory omits the italicized words from Leo's letter, which mandate that the papacy reject any decisions bishops make contravening Nicea: 'Si quid sane ab fratribus quos ab sanctam synodum vice mea misi, praeter id quod causam fidei pertinebat, gestum esse perhibetur, nullius erit penitus firmitatis: quia ad hoc tantum ab apostolica sunt sede directi, ut excisis haeresibus, catholica essent fidei defensores. quidquid enim praeter speciales causas synodali conciliorum ad examen episcopale deferretur potest dijudicandi habere rationem, si nihil de eo est a sanctis Patribus apud Nicaeam definitum. Nam quod ab illo regulis et constitutione discordat, apostolicae sedis numquam poterit obtinere consensum.' Leo then tells Maximus that he is sending him copies of the letter he wrote to Anatolius chastizing Anatolius for his cupidity. Facundus cites this letter more fully at *Pro defensione*, V, iv, 23, SC, 479, p. 278.

⁴⁹ Leo writes Proterius of Alexandria in *Ep. 55*, Silva-Tarouca, pp. 140–44, reassuring him that he permits no deviation from the canons of Nicea. Proterius would continue to possess the authority enjoyed by his predecessors over neighbouring bishops.

⁵⁰ Leo I, *Ep. 42* (to Maximus of Antioch), Silva-Tarouca, p. 110: 'Nunc autem ad omnia me generaliter pronuntiare sufficiat, quod si quid a quoquam contra statuta Nichaenorum canonum, in quacumque synodo uel temptatum est, uel ad tempus uidetur extortum, nihil praeiudicii potest inuiolabilibus inferre decretis, et facilius erit quarum libet consensionum pacta dissolui, quam praedictorum canonum regulas ex ulla parte corrumpi.'

⁵¹ Leo I, *Ep. 42* (to Maximus of Antioch), Silva-Tarouca, p. 110. Both Anatolius and Juvenal are subjects. In addition to condemning the attack on Antioch's privileges as third see, Leo also mentions finding the original letter of Cyril of Alexandria of which Maximus has a copy. Cyril had written Leo at the first Council of Ephesus imploring him to oppose Juvenal's *cupiditas*, evident even in 431. Leo had thwarted Juvenal's 'unlawful attempts' (*conates inlicitos*) to 'obtain the presidency of Palestine' (*ad obtinendum Palaestinae prouinciae principatum*). Juvenal's ambitions were nothing new.

engineered by Anatolius and Juvenal that had been passed when his legates were at the council, either with their silence (Canons 7, 9, and 17) or despite their protests (Canon 28). In several other letters, Leo invalidates canons at odds with those of Nicea but omits the phrase Gregory found significant, 'For whatever is set before the bishops for inquiry, beyond the particular matters of the synodal council may be allowed a certain free discussion'.⁵² Leo's apparent obiter dictum cannot bear the determinative weight that Gregory imposes on it.

The Istrians are probably following Facundus of Hermiane, who cited this and other letters to prove that Leo invalidated only those canons concerned with Anatolius's machinations (including those of Juvenal, his apparent collaborator).⁵³ To declare victory, Gregory must deny the literal and historical reading of *Ep.* 42. The letter cannot be about Anatolius; Leo's legates are the first reason. 'If, therefore, speaking of the matter of Anatolius, [Leo] disavows what his legates did in the synod, doubtlessly he rebuked them since they contradicted him. But, who could be so stupid as to think this?'⁵⁴ Leo supports his legates, and they *did* oppose Anatolius.

The passage in *Ep.* 42 cannot refer to Anatolius, Gregory continues. The Istrians cannot say that Leo objected to one thing (Anatolius's ambition), because Leo reproved several things. Even so, Gregory fails to identify Juvenal or anyone else as the subject of the passage, so it hangs suspended in irrelevance. He offers no historical inquiry, but focusses on terminology, making the tautologous observation that Leo spoke in order to make the distinction between particular cases and inviolate faith. Insofar as Leo had a motivation for making this distinction, it was to circumscribe the limits of papal power: 'in reproofing many things done by

⁵² These letters condemn the usurpations of Anatolius and Juvenal, without the incidental phrase, 'quidquid enim praeter speciales causas synodaliū conciliorum ad examen episcopale deferitur potest dijudicandi habere rationem'. Leo I, *Ep.* 39 (to Anatolius), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 102–03; *Ep.* 40 (to Julian), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 105–06; *Ep.* 110.1 (to Marcian), *PL*, 54, col. 1019; *Ep.* 41 (to the Synod of Chalcedon), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 106–07; *Ep.* 69 (to Emperor Leo), Silva-Tarouca, pp. 162–63; *Ep.* 37 (to Marcian), Silva-Tarouca, p. 95; *Ep.* 38 (to Pulcheria), Silva-Tarouca, p. 99; *Ep.* 39 (to Anatolius), Silva-Tarouca, p. 103; *Ep.* 45 (to Marcian) Silva-Tarouca, p. 121; *Ep.* 46 (to Pulcheria), Silva-Tarouca, p. 123.

⁵³ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, V, iv, 23–25, SC, 479, pp. 276–78; see also note 32 above.

⁵⁴ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 463, lines 35–37: 'Si ergo de Anatolii causa loquens hoc quod a vicariis suis actum in synodo fuerat, redarguit, nimirum quia contradixerant, reprehendit. Et quis haec vel stultus sentiat?'

reason of individuals, [Leo] limited the authority of the synod to only the definition of faith'.⁵⁵

Historical necessity dictated that Gregory accept a limited role for the papacy in guaranteeing the widest common denominator of beliefs. If nothing needed to be defended except the definition of the faith, the papacy could be acquitted of any responsibility for the Three Chapters debacle. Blame could be freely apportioned elsewhere. Gregory writes about Leo with clear proleptic agenda, for in insisting that special matters embraced everything after the definition of faith, this applied not only to the canons involving Anatolius and Juvenal, but also to the Three Chapters.⁵⁶ While Gregory does not suggest that Leo had divine foresight, readers might infer that Providence was at work anticipating the papacy's need to invalidate the Three Chapters. Only such prescience could give Leo's remarks relevance.

While dissenters were right that Leo rejected only the canons in violation of the Council of Nicea, Gregory was also right in pointing out that Leo saw two categories, defined faith and particular matters. Nevertheless, Leo and Gregory did not see the categories in the same way. For Leo, particular matters were still subject to the decisions of Nicea, and these could not be overthrown. All decisions were 'white', so to speak, except for the 'black' errors that violated the canons of Nicea; sound authority extended to both divisions of a council's business. Gregory, on the other hand, set up opposite categories standing in a black-and-white polarity, one honoured with permanence, and the other subject to retraction.

Gregory works with the Istrians' citations of Leo, who had stressed the inviolability of Chalcedon's faith, hoping it marked the final defeat of Eutychianism. From these letters of Leo, composed to define Chalcedon's decisions as orthodoxy against the heretical fringe, Gregory crafts the definition of inviolate faith as finished, rightly and inculpably decreed; clarified, complete, perfect, and divinely defined.⁵⁷ It is called the rule, confirmation, profession, and definition of faith, as

⁵⁵ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 463, lines 17–18: 'gesta multiplicia causarum specialium reprobando auctoritatem synodi in sola fidei definitione constrinxit'.

⁵⁶ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 452, lines 33–36.

⁵⁷ 'Fides illibata': see *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 451, lines 7–8, 12, 38; p. 452, line 6; p. 467, line 9; 'finita': see *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 453, line 1; p. 464, lines 26–27. Gregory draws a distinction between what has been decreed and what has been decreed inculpably and rightly: 'Et longe est aliud non posse commoveri ea quae decreta sunt et non posse commoveri ea quae recte et inculpabiliter sunt decreta': *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 453, lines 15–16; 'patefacta': *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 451, line 21; p. 462, line 25; 'fides definita': *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 453, line 38; 'completa': *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 462, line

well as the teachings handed down by the apostles and fathers.⁵⁸ The synod decrees it and confirms it by statute, fixes it by the rules of the canons, and proclaims it.⁵⁹ The apostolic see confirms it and the emperor's secular arm should protect it.⁶⁰

The profession of faith is eternal truth, transcendent and absolute, and only doctrine so proclaimed officially by a synod is inviolable. Because a synod is perfect, its definition of faith cannot be changed, since 'completion does not admit addition, nor perfection increase'.⁶¹ But only this faith, which is 'rightly and blamelessly defined' must be kept intact — never impaired, disturbed, changed, questioned, overturned, nor infringed by novelty.⁶²

Because the doctrine of a council has the authority of God, to change anything is sacrilege; even questioning is *lèse majesté*. 'Those who wish to attack legitimate and divinely inspired constitutions are not peaceful, but rebellious.'⁶³ To ask is to

25; 'perfecta': *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 462, lines 25–28, and 41; 'definita divinitus': *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 454, lines 3. These letters of Leo emphasize only that faith is inviolable; they do not contain contrasts between inviolable faith and particular matters. Leo's concern is to thwart Eutychians, who were resisting the settlement.

⁵⁸ 'Regula fidei': *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 454, lines 35 and 39; 'confirmatio fidei': *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 453, line 44; 'professio fidei': *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 454, line 27; p. 452, line 10; 'definitio fidei': *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 452, line 32; 'apostolica quidem et paterna dogmata olim nobis tradita' and 'apostolica dogmata et paterna', 'paterna et apostolica dogmata illibata': *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 453, lines 3–6.

⁵⁹ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 462, lines 26–28: 'Omnes namque novimus, quod in synodo numquam canones nisi peractis definitionibus fidei, nisi perfectis synodalibus gestis habeantur, ut servato ordine, cum prius synodus ad fidem corda aedificat, tunc per regulas canonum mores ecclesiae actusque componat.' It is 'fides decreta': *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 452, line 43; 'status confirmare': *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 453, lines 3–4; 'regula canonum figitur': *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 462, line 30; 'declaratur': *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 463, line 2.

⁶⁰ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 453, line 21; cf. *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 452, lines 27–28; *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 451, lines 26 and 28–33. Cf. Leo I, *Ep.* 162. 1, *PL*, 54, col. 1143.

⁶¹ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 451, lines 23–24: 'perfectio incrementum, et adiectionem plenitudo non recipit', quoting Leo I, *Ep.* 72, Silva-Tarouca, p. 166.

⁶² 'Pro custodia illibatae fidei': *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 451, lines 37–39; p. 454, line 32; 'fides intemerata': *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 453, line 6; 'violari': *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 453, line 19; 'commovere': *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 453, lines 15–17; 'retractari', *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 452, lines 6–7; p. 454, lines 21–27; 'commutari': *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 453, line 41; 'revolueri': *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 451, line 35; p. 453, line 1; 'convelleri': *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 451, line 35; p. 453, line 1; 'nulla novitate temerari': *Ep.* 3, *ibid.*, p. 453, line 25.

⁶³ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 454, lines 25–27: 'Si ergo cuncta res quae retractari non debet sola est professio fidei, ille retractator rerum erit [s]acrilegus, qui professioni eius fuerit

repeat Adam's sin: 'To question what has been clarified, to reconsider what has been completed, to overturn what has been defined, what else is this than not to give sufficient thanks and to indulge an unholy longing of deadly desire for the fruit of the forbidden tree?'⁶⁴ Inquiry implies uncertainty and doubt, and can only confuse believers.⁶⁵ 'To contend with words is nothing else than the subversion of the listener' (see II Timothy 2. 14), Gregory quotes Leo.⁶⁶ Because dissent endangers the souls of others, schismatics lack charity. Once an issue has been decided, one must not continue to fight against 'the triumphs of Almighty God's right hand'.⁶⁷ In short, one must accept the profession of faith decreed by the synod as definitive and forbear dissent.⁶⁸

Time as well as ceremony separates faith from particular matters. After the faith has been defined and the session ends with the bishops' subscriptions, the bishops then consider whatever falls outside the faith.⁶⁹ Thus, Emperor Marcian told the bishops at Chalcedon to return for a separate session to discuss whatever they wanted and to decide what things would be worth helping along.⁷⁰ Their

diversus'; *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 451, lines 26–28; cf. Leo I, *Ep. 68*, Silva-Tarouca, p. 160: 'quia post legitimas et diuinitus inspiratas constitutiones uelle conflagrare non pacifici est animi sed rebellis, dicente apostolo: "Verbis enim contendere ad nihil est utile nisi ad subuersionem audientium."'

⁶⁴ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 451, lines 34–36, quoting Leo against the Eutychians, who did not want to accept Chalcedon's definition of faith, in *Ep. 72*, Silva-Tarouca, p. 165: 'Quae patefacta sunt quaerere, quae perfecta sunt retractare et quae sunt definita convellere, quid aliud est, quam de adeptis gratias non referre et ad interdictae arbore cibum improbos appetitus mortiferae cupiditatis extendere?'

⁶⁵ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 454, lines 3–6: 'Nec in aliquam disceptationem plene definita revocanda sunt, ne ad arbitrium damnatorum ipsi de his videamur ambigere quae manifestum est per omnia prophetis et evangelicis atque apostolicis auctoritatibus consonare'; quoting Leo, who hopes to check protests from the Eutychians in *Ep. 72*, Silva-Tarouca, p. 166.

⁶⁶ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 451, lines 27–28: 'verbis contendere ad nihil est utile nisi ad subuersionem audientium'; quoting Leo, *Ep. 68*, Silva-Tarouca, p. 160.

⁶⁷ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 451, lines 30–31: 'non sinas contra dexterarum omnipotentis dei triumphos redivivis exurgere motibus extincta certamina'; quoting Leo I, *Ep. 72*, Silva-Tarouca, p. 165.

⁶⁸ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 451, line 7: 'ut praefatam sanctam Chalcedonensem synodum illibatam debere servari monstretis'.

⁶⁹ 'Extra fidem': *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 455, line 2; 'extraneum': *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 452, line 25.

⁷⁰ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 463, lines 11–12: 'singula quaequae vultis digno auxilio merituri movete'.

decisions are codified as rules or norms of the canon, and regulations by law of the canons,⁷¹ but these canons can be discussed and modified, since these matters outside the faith are governed by a law of judgement and change.⁷² Affairs outside the faith therefore are contingent and relative, the mutable deeds of the practical world.

Disciplinary canons are these matters outside the faith: 'For all of us know that canons are not established in a synod except when definitions of faith have been perfected and acts of the synod completed so that, preserving order, the synod first builds hearts to the faith, then brings together the practices and transactions of the Church through rules of the canons.'⁷³ This category concerns individual people, entailing special decisions, deeds, particular cases, private business, cases of individual misconduct, and specific criminal cases.⁷⁴ This category deals with regulating the deeds and ways of the Church and building up the faithful.⁷⁵ Here the bishops 'throw in opinions, as they wish'.⁷⁶ A certain freedom prevails.

How can the Istrians know that when Leo speaks of 'faith' he only refers to the narrow definition of faith? Gregory explains (inaccurately) that Leo always used 'faith' exclusively in order to distinguish faith from other matters; the contrast between matters of faith and those outside the faith is always implied.⁷⁷ Leo would

⁷¹ 'Forma canonum': *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 462, line 36; 'regula canonum': *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 462, lines 35 and 43; 'norma canonum': *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 462, line 37; 'iure constitutiones canonum': *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 462, line 40.

⁷² 'Aliquam iudicandi habere rationem retractare': *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 463, line 24; 'ius iudicandi et retractandi': *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 464, line 19; p. 452, line. 39.

⁷³ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 462, lines 27–28: 'Omnes namque novimus quod in synodum numquam canones nisi peractis definitionibus fidei, nisi perfectis synodalibus gestis habeantur, ut servato ordine, cum prius synodus ad fidem corda aedificat, tunc per regulas canonum mores ecclesiae actusque componat.'

⁷⁴ 'De personis': *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 452, line 3; 'quae illic specialiter motae sunt': *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 452, lines 24, 29–30; 'quae illic specialiter gesta sunt': *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 452, line 24; 'speciali criminis causa': *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 452, line 38; 'speciales causae': *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 452, line 9; 'privata negotia': *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 452, lines 37–38; 'speciales causae personarum': *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 453, line 29; 'de speciali criminis causa': *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 452, line 37.

⁷⁵ 'Mores ecclesiae actusque': *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 462, line 28; 'ad institutionem iam fidelium': *Ep. 3*, *ibid.*, p. 462, line 30.

⁷⁶ 'Libens adieci sententiam': *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 453, line 43.

⁷⁷ As evidence, Gregory summons several passages: Leo's legates act only 'in sola fidei causa'; see *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 452, lines 24, 41–42, and p. 453, lines 12–15.

not speak 'of faith' unless he wanted deliberately to exclude 'other matters'.⁷⁸ In truth, Leo often speaks only of inviolable faith when promoting the decisions of Chalcedon against critics and Eutychians. When he does use the contrast, it is in the context of invalidating the acts of the final days when Anatolius and his allies subverted the proper business of the council.

As Gregory sees it, however, the Istrians are hoist with their own petard. Faith *is* inviolable, but faith is not what the Istrians think it is. The Council of Chalcedon defined inviolable faith with the bishops' subscriptions at the end of the Sixth Session. Furthermore, the encyclical on the council also ended with the Sixth Session, proving that everything critical to the faith had been concluded — otherwise, the documents would be incomplete and invalid.⁷⁹ Therefore, the Three Chapters cannot be matters of faith, because they were taken up after the Sixth Session in the Acts of Chalcedon (as were Anatolius's and Juvenal's usurpations).⁸⁰ Theodoret appears in the Eighth Session, Ibas in the Ninth and Tenth, and Theodore is not even mentioned.⁸¹ Timing marks the category.

With some satisfaction, Gregory maintains that Leo's letters do not support the Istrians but rather the papacy. The Three Chapters are open to discussion and modification because they came up in sessions devoted to the settling of 'particular quarrels of bishops'.⁸² Although the council had accepted Ibas, individual

⁷⁸ 'Causae aliae': *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, pp. 451, line 1 – 453, line 22.

⁷⁹ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, pp. 463, line 15 – 464, line 20.

⁸⁰ Gregory is explicit about this to Secundinus in *Ep.* IX, 148, pp. 701–02: 'Ut enim dilectioni tuae de eadem re breuiter loquar, sancta Chalcedonensis synodus usque ad definitionem fidei et prolationem canonum de generalibus causis locuta est. Nam post prolationem canonum specialia episcoporum certamina sopire curauit. Epistolam uero quam in ea reuerentissimus Ibas denegat suam, quia in extrema parte synodi iaceat, agnoscis.'

⁸¹ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 463, lines 10–11. The Fifth Session of the Council of Chalcedon provides the definition of faith, followed in the Sixth Session by the subscription of the bishops, acclamations by the bishops, and an address from the Emperor. After condemning Nestorius, Theodoret of Cyrrhus is restored to his bishopric in the Eighth Session (26 October). Ibas of Edessa is introduced in the Ninth Session of Chalcedon (27 October), which continued to the next day, when the synod voted that the accusations against Ibas were unfounded and reinstated him in office, judging his *Letter to Mari* to be 'innocent'. The bishops adopted twenty-eight disciplinary canons in the Fifteenth Session held on 31 October. The council did not consider Theodore of Mopsuestia in its condemnation of Nestorius, nor include Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas* in the definition of the faith. See Hefele, *History of the Councils*, III, 298–44.

⁸² 'Specialia episcoporum certamina': *Ep.* IX, 148, p. 702.

bishops could disagree with the vote both during the council and afterward.⁸³ Such issues have a different order of being. One is not obliged to believe matters outside the faith; they do not really count. A quarrel among individuals may be easily ignored; universal doctrine cannot. The latter is absolute, transcendent, and divine; the former relative, contingent, and all too human.

Gregory offers a remarkable defence of inquiry and debate, if not 'free thinking', when he considers this second category of 'individual persons'. This is why he hoped to wrest Leo's remarks in *Ep.* 42 about discussion free from their connection with Anatolius. Faith is expansive enough to embrace inquiry — God permits it: 'The One who will speak of unanimity, in permitting so many and such frequent inquiries, shows all the more merit of his goodness not in explanation but in inquiry.'⁸⁴ Discussion and difference need not be at odds with harmony, truth, and faith. Paul actually gained in certainty the more he had first struggled against the truth.⁸⁵ Free discussion, however, does not mean an endless reliance on one's own reasoning; quite the opposite. Truth is revealed and it may require of certain individuals a Pauline conversion (or a Kierkegaardian 'leap of faith') to grasp it. The Istrians must trust that the papacy has gotten it right; they must now be converted. This conversion is key. In the end, a subject that was once relative, contingent, and debatable is transformed into absolute, transcendent truth. Time had established transcendent truth, and the Istrians were now obliged to consent to it.

Yet, the see of Rome had gotten it wrong on occasion — starting with Peter, then with Leo, and lastly with the Fifth Council. But Gregory holds that the papacy's conversion at these times should be a model for the Istrians. Here Gregory takes great care to preserve the dignity and honour of his formidable antagonists. Changing one's mind is not shameful, nor is one discredited when accepting another's judgement. Peter listened to Paul's advice on circumcision and changed his mind; this did not compromise Peter's authority, nor did it impugn the truth. Gregory asks: 'Do you think that one should have said to Peter, who was reversing his position, we will not listen to what you say because you

⁸³ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 464, lines 15–20.

⁸⁴ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 466, lines 33–35: 'qui igitur unanimitatem locuturus, tot et tales inquisitiones praemisit, quantum esset huius uirtutis meritum, non explendo, sed inquirendo monstrauit'.

⁸⁵ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 455, lines 31–34.

preached something different before?’⁸⁶ Decisions evolve, and flexibility is requisite to the proper discernment of the truth. This explains why the papacy changed position on the Three Chapters, and it should reassure the Istrians that they too can change without losing face.

If in the matter of the Three Chapters one position was held while the truth was being sought, and a different position was adopted after the truth had been found, why should a change of position be imputed a crime to this see, which is humbly venerated by all in the person of its founder? For what is reprehensible is not to change one’s stand, but to entertain fickle opinions. Now if the aim of understanding what is right remains unchanged, why should you object when it abandons its ignorance and reformulates its position?⁸⁷

The analysis of any problem is to some degree dialectical. In Gregory’s mind, to think about something (*considerare, pensare*) always involves *discretio*, and this means that one must sift evidence, weighing pros and cons to arrive at the right conclusion. Interestingly, virtue is also the product of *discretio*, a moderation of behaviour to follow the mean between extremes, to avoid exceeding or falling short of the goal.⁸⁸ A certain flexibility, even experimentation, is necessary to achieve the goal. Although ‘opinions may change, the intention does not’, Gregory writes.⁸⁹ The right is absolute, transcendent, and immutable, Gregory is confident of this. But the human mind is also mutable and our comprehension is imperfect. Thinking is dynamic — to live itself is to change, and understanding is the result of a long, uneven process.

In this light, the Istrians may also understand how the Fifth Council condemned the dead when the Council of Chalcedon did not. Councils always codify truth in the definition of faith. With brisk (and specious) assertions, Gregory

⁸⁶ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, pp. 455–56: ‘Numquid, fratres dilectissimi, Petro apostolorum principi sibi dissimilia docenti debuit ad haec verba respondi: haec quae dicis, audire non possumus, quia aliud ante praedicasti?’

⁸⁷ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 456, lines 2–7: ‘si igitur in trium capitulorum negotio aliud cum veritas quaereretur, aliud autem inuenta ueritate dictum est, cur mutatio sententiae huic sedi in crimine obicitur, quae a cuncta ecclesia humiliter in eius auctore ueneratur? non enim mutatio sententiae, sed inconstantia sensus in culpa est. quando ergo ad cognitionem recti intentio incommutabilis permaneat, quid obstat, si ignorantiam suam deserens verba permutet.’

⁸⁸ See Carole Straw, ‘Gregory, Cassian and the Cardinal Vices’, in *In the Garden of Evil: Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Richard Newhauser (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), pp. 35–58 (pp. 42–43).

⁸⁹ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 456, lines 7–8: ‘De ipso quoque auctore omnium Deo scriptura attestante cognoscimus, quia, dum consilium non mutet, saepe sententiam mutat.’

rejects the Istrians' claims that Leo forbade condemnation of the dead.⁹⁰ 'Who does not know that the preaching of the blessed Augustine and the same Leo in no way contradicts itself?', Gregory asks.⁹¹ The truth is consistent and the Church is of one mind. Leo and Augustine cannot disagree; Leo forbade changing dogma, not damning the dead. Following the Fifth Council, Gregory concludes that Augustine accepted the damnation of the dead in permitting Caecilian to be anathematized, were his crimes true.⁹² Gregory is more interested in a point not made by the Fifth Council, to wit, that Augustine had publicly supported Caecilian for the sake of avoiding schism.⁹³ The lesson is clear: even the most serious difference with a sinner cannot justify schism. Harmony trumps individual conscience.

⁹⁰ *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 456, lines 15–21.* Vigilius is careful to distinguish between condemning a doctrine and condemning the person; see *Constitutum*, 219–20, CSEL, 35.1, pp. 292–93. Cf. Pelagius I, *In defensione*, 3, ST, 57, pp. 14–15.

⁹¹ *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 456, lines 20–21:* 'quis autem nesciat quod in nullo sibi eiusdem sancti Leonis et beati Augustini praedicatio contradicat?'

⁹² *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 456, lines 22–25.* Gregory follows the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553) in quoting Augustine *Ep. 185. 1. 4* out of context: *ACO*, IV.1, p. 103. Augustine speaks hypothetically; Gregory omits the qualifier 'although even' (*quamvis et*). Omissions are italicized: '*testimoniis enim divinis lites suas praeferunt, quia in causa Caeciliani, quondam ecclesiae Carthagenensis episcopi, cui crimina obiecerunt, quae nec potuerunt probare nec possunt, se ab ecclesia catholica, hoc est ab unitate omnium gentium dividerunt. quamvis et si vera essent, quae ab eis obiecta sunt Caeciliano, et nobis possent aliquando monstrari, ipsum iam mortuum anathematizaremus. sed tamen ecclesiam Christi, quae non litigiosis opinionibus fingitur, sed divinis adtestationibus comprobatur, propter quemlibet hominem relinquere non debemus, quia bonum est confidere in domino, quam confidere in homine. neque enim, quod sine iniuria innocentiae illius dixerim, si peccavit Caecilianus, ideo hereditatem suam perdidit christus. facile est homini seu vera seu falsa de altero homine credere, sed sceleratae impudentiae est propter crimina hominis, quae orbi terrarum non possis ostendere, communionem orbis terrarum velle damnare.*' The Fifth Ecumenical Council interprets Augustine as saying whoever was not condemned for bad living while alive might be anathematized after death in order to demonstrate their sinfulness to everyone. Vigilius cites the precedent of Augustine retracting a position in defending his own change in *Decretum*, *PL*, 69, col. 124; *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. by Joannes Dominicus Mansi, 54 vols (Paris: H. Welter, 1901–27), IX, cols 413–20. Cf. Pelagius I, *Ep. 19. 4–19* and *Ep. 11*, pp. 56–59 and 35–40.

⁹³ *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 456, lines 26–29.* After citing Augustine, Gregory writes, 'ecce mirabilis praedicator et scissionem sanctae ecclesiae propter hominem vetat et si qua perversa deprehendat, eum quem publice defendebat Caecilianum se etiam post mortem anathematizare non abnegat, quia videlicet tunc viventibus vere consulatur, cum culpa in fide perpetrata nec morte interveniente laxetur.'

Gregory's most convincing reasons for condemning the dead are his own. If Christ lived after death, so can Theodore be condemned after death, 'for sin perpetrated against the faith is not relaxed by intervening death'.⁹⁴ Chalcedon's failure to condemn Theodore does not imply that Chalcedon's bishops would disagree with the Fifth Council — faith is consistent. Indeed, the first Council of Ephesus (431) condemned Theodore after death (an error Gregory repeats from the Acts of the Fifth Ecumenical Council of 553, which attributed the biases of the 'Robber' Council of Ephesus to the first Council of Ephesus).⁹⁵ The Fifth Council therefore is in harmony with the Ephesian Council that rejected Theodore — a point dissenters would not dispute.

The dead can be condemned for their faults, lest the living be led astray. Ironically, to criticize the condemnation of the dead is to do precisely what one prohibits — condemn the dead — in this case, the fathers of the first Council of Ephesus who originally condemned Theodore.⁹⁶ Precedent does not matter that much, it seems. 'But why do we talk so long and what do we say to our own?',⁹⁷ Gregory asks impatiently, inviting the Istrians to hear Theodore's works themselves and decide if they should defend the blasphemer further.

Yet, even *if* the fathers *have* changed their views, in time the Church will find the truth. Gregory is willing to concede the Istrians a small point, hoping that it

⁹⁴ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 456, line 29; see previous note and also lines 33–39.

⁹⁵ *ACO*, IV.1, p. 72; see below, note 112. The Robber Council of Ephesus (449) derived its Christology exclusively from Cyril's anathemas, and implicitly condemns Theodore of Mopsuestia's opinions; indeed, Ibas was condemned for disseminating Theodore's writings. The prehistory of the Robber Council is critical to understanding the Fifth Council and Gregory's interpretation of the councils. Monophysite hostility to Theodore (d. 428) culminates in the Robber Council's actions against his defenders, who are still living. Rabbula of Edessa's fight with Theodore of Mopsuestia began even before the peace of 433 between Cyril and the Orientals. Rabbula anathematized not only Theodore, but all who read his writings, campaigning against 'the school of the Persians' aligned with Theodore. In the decade between the first Council of Ephesus and the Robber Council, hostility intensified. Proclus of Constantinople condemned Theodore's writings without mentioning his name in his *Tomus ad Armenios*, written in response to questions from Armenian bishops. Acacius of Metilene took up the fight in Armenia, while Proclus's deacon Basil wrote three *libelli* against Theodore and politicked for his condemnation. Cyril wrote a book against Theodore and Diodore of Tarsus (only fragments survive). See Robert Devrèsse, 'Le début de la querelle des Trois-Chapitres: la lettre d'Ibas et le tome de Proclus', *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 10 (1931), 550–62; Hefele, *History of the Councils*, III, 154–59; Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, I, 525; II.2, 412–18; Chadwick, *The Church in Ancient Society*, pp. 546–51.

⁹⁶ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 456, lines 31–36.

⁹⁷ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 456, line 36: 'Sed cur diu et quae nostris loquimur?'

might spur them to concede his larger point. So what if the Istrians are right, that John of Antioch *did* praise Theodore of Mopsuestia at the Council of Ephesus, as they claim? ‘We ought, however, to grant it, and having granted it, say something. So therefore, as your responses affirm, we shall understand how it is.’⁹⁸ The Istrians *want* to understand; and if conceding a point helps them gain understanding, it must be done. Such matters must always be given the benefit of the doubt (*in parte semper est interpretanda meliore*). ‘What is to prevent [Theodore, Ibas, and Theodoret] from being praised by one father while his error was still obscure and subject to doubt, and, when his error became known, being shot through by the opinions of almost all the great fathers like an enormous beast pierced by a burgeoning number of spears?’⁹⁹ The Istrians should grant the papacy some margin, given that human beings are not infallible. Unlike modern popes, Gregory was willing to see his views ‘shot down’ and to be magnanimous about it because it advanced the search for truth.

Gregory maintains that such ‘cognitive dissonance’ does not compromise right order. The wise may be excused for admiring heretics — Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Jerome admired Origen. It would be understandable if John of Antioch had praised Theodore, as the Istrians contend; this does not make Theodore any more orthodox, because the Church weighs the inner truth of the heart, which transcends circumstances. Jerome called himself Origen’s disciple, but this did not save Origen.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, the Church is merciful as well as just, for neither are Eusebius and Jerome burdened with the sins of Origen, whom they praised. The Church always reckons the heart above words.¹⁰¹ (Unfortunately, as pope, Gregory does not demonstrate this open-mindedness.¹⁰²)

⁹⁸ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 466, lines 9–11: ‘debemus tamen [ac]cedere et iam concedentes aliquid dicere. ita ergo ut responsales vestri asserunt, esse sentiamus’.

⁹⁹ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 466, lines 12–14: ‘vos scitis, fratres dilectissimi, quod res quae dubietati subiacet, in parte semper est interpretanda meliori. quid itaque obstat, si dum de eius errore occultum adhuc et dubium fuit, ab uno patre laudatus est, et innotescente post perfidia, paene omnium magnorum patrum sententiis velut inmanis bestia quasi crebrescentibus iaculis est confossus?’

¹⁰⁰ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 466, lines 22–26.

¹⁰¹ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 466, lines 24–25: ‘quia plus causa quam verba pensanda sunt’.

¹⁰² For example, he condemns Sozomen’s history because he praises Theodore of Mopsuestia; see below note 106.

If the learned Eusebius and Jerome can be forgiven for their good intentions, how much more may the Istrians be excused? The papacy and Westerners have a valid excuse for their original error in their ignorance of Greek (historically untrue, but impossible to refute). Westerners ignorant of Greek can easily fail to understand theological distinctions. 'Indeed, Latin-speaking men ignorant of Greek, since they do not know the language, recognize their error only slowly.' But once discerned, the truth must be embraced all the more quickly the longer it has been contended.¹⁰³ It behooves the Istrians therefore to consent to the truth and reverse their mistakes. Prompt obedience expunges guilt, just as resistance increases it. The difference is between unintentional sin and deliberate obstinacy.

To argue that the Three Chapters were not articles of faith might excuse the papacy's change of position; nevertheless, after the Fifth Council, faith required that the Three Chapters indeed be condemned. And at the beginning of his papacy, Gregory does in fact condemn them in the profession of faith of his synodal letter sent to the eastern bishops.¹⁰⁴ To *cognoscenti* such as Constantius, Bishop of Milan, Gregory will condemn the Three Chapters privately, but publicly not mention them.¹⁰⁵ Removing the Three Chapters from orthodoxy could have wide implications. Despite his earlier assurances that the guilt of Origen could not contaminate Eusebius (nor Jerome's virtue save Origen), Gregory never abandons the primitive conviction that sin is 'contagious'. Much purgation would be needed to avoid contamination.

A letter of 597 illustrates what this could mean. Gregory writes Eulogius, Bishop of Alexandria, and Anastasius, Bishop of Antioch, about the condemnation of a certain Eudoxius. Having searched to find the identity of Eudoxius (Arian Bishop of Constantinople, 360–70), Gregory finds 'a Eudoxius' mentioned in Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History*. But can it be a credible source? The apostolic Church rejects Sozomen's *History* 'because it is full of lies and praises Theodore of Mopsuestia too much, suggesting that he was a great doctor of the Church, right up to the day of his death'.¹⁰⁶ Sozomen's whole history is infected

¹⁰³ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 455, lines 8–21: 'Latini quippe homines et Graecitatis ignari, dum linguam nesciunt, errorem tarde cognoverunt, et tanto eis celerius post cognitionem credi debuit, quanto eorum constantia, quousque verum cognoscerent, a certamine non quievit.'

¹⁰⁴ *Ep.* I, 24 (synodical letter to eastern patriarchs, February 591), p. 32.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *Ep.* IV, 37 (to Constantius of Milan, July 594), pp. 257–59.

¹⁰⁶ *Ep.* VII, 31 (to Eulogius of Alexandria and Anastasius of Antioch, June 597), p. 493: 'In historia autem Sozomeni de quodam Eudoxio, qui Constantinopolitanae ecclesiae episcopatum

with error and cannot be trusted. Gregory's enlightened position in the *liber* has been overshadowed by the ancient belief that sin is pollution. Even worse, sin is so insidious that it infects to the second and third degree. Not only is Sozomen's history untrustworthy, but to accept his history would be to reject Justinian's synod, Gregory concludes.¹⁰⁷ The condemnation of the Three Chapters *did* matter a great deal.

Gregory, however, is obliged to defend the papacy's traditional argument that 'nothing has changed'; and so he must convince the Istrians that the dissenters have been wrong, when they have much evidence to the contrary.¹⁰⁸ Rather than answer the Istrians' objections that the councils have been inconsistent — that the Robber Council had overturned the first Council of Ephesus (431); that the Council of Chalcedon had corrected the Robber Council — Gregory appeals to faith, offering the Istrians a simple assertion for them to believe (or reject if they are stubborn). By definition, councils are consistent because they embody the truth. Far from undoing the Council of Chalcedon, Gregory claims, the Fifth Council actually 'confirmed Nicea, Constantinople, and the first Synod of Ephesus'.¹⁰⁹

These assertions rest on pure faith and wishful thinking. Gregory affirms that councils cannot contradict one another because the truth is not dissimilar to itself. Councils express the oneness of mind (*unanimitas*) that exists in the body of Christ. This unanimity is the source of the Church's strength and authority:

arripuisse dicitur, aliqua narrantur. Sed ipsam quoque historiam sedes apostolica suscipere recusat, quoniam multa mentitur et Theodorum Mopsuestiae nimium laudat atque usque ad diem obitus sui magnum doctorem ecclesiae fuisse perhibet. Restat ergo ut, si quis illam historiam recipit, et synodo quae piae memoriae Iustiniani temporibus de tribus capitulis facta est, contradicat. Qui uero huic contradicere non uolet, illam historiam necesse est ut repellat.' In his original Greek, Sozomen makes no mention of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Gregory mistakes Theodore the Lector's work as Sozomen's because both are in Cassiodorus's *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, along with that of Epiphanius Scholasticus and Socrates. See Cassiodorus, *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, X, 34, ed. by Walter Jacob and Rudolph Hanslik, CSEL, 71 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1952), pp. 627–28.

¹⁰⁷ *Ep.* VII, 31, p. 493; see previous note.

¹⁰⁸ At the first Council of Ephesus in 431, Nestorius was anathematized and an anonymous Nestorian creed was condemned, which Cyril argued later was the work of Theodore of Mopsuestia; see note 112 below. Cyril's *Third Letter to Nestorius* and his *Twelve Anathemas* had been included in later proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon, but not in the dogmatic definition; see Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, I, 485, citing *ACO*, I.1.2.36, pp. 19–20, 26.

¹⁰⁹ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 451, lines 3–5: 'in ipsa quippe Nicaena, Constantinopolitana ac prima synodus Ephesina firmata est'.

For if they differ from one another, they have no authority whatever, since those that are destroyed by fighting against themselves are not able to build up others. If they differ with themselves, by no firm conviction can they be strong together, as the Lord says, 'A kingdom divided against itself cannot stand' (Mark 3. 24, Luke 11. 17).¹¹⁰

The truth is one, the synods are one, and the Church is one: 'The holy faith which is understood with one mind, believed with one understanding, preached by one voice, is one.' This explains why dissent cannot be tolerated; indeed, dissent does not exist, 'since the voices of preachers are not dissimilar to themselves'.¹¹¹

The historical record does not support Gregory, but he finds an adequate guide in the Fifth Council, repeating its attribution of the political biases of the Robber Council (449) to the orthodox first Council of Ephesus (431). The Fifth Council records that Theodore of Mopsuestia was condemned at the first Council of Ephesus (431), an error that the previous popes, Vigilius and Pelagius I, had been concerned to correct. Granted, the so-called 'Sixth Session' of Ephesus had condemned an anonymous Nestorian creed, but Theodore was not identified as the author, nor did the Council of Ephesus condemn him. It was Cyril who maintained that Theodore was author of the anonymous creed, and enemies like Rabbula who conspired to engineer his condemnation after the Council of Ephesus closed.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 462, lines 7–10*: 'si enim sibimet ipsis diuersa sunt, nulla procul dubio auctoritate subsistunt, quia quae se in pugnando destruunt, alios aedificare non possunt. si sibimet ipsis diversa sunt, nulla firmitate conualescunt, domino attestante qui ait: "regnum in se diuisum non stabit" (Mark 3. 24, Luke 11. 17)'.

¹¹¹ *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 462, lines 12–14*: 'sancta enim fides, quae uno illic spiritu accepta est, uno sensu credita, una est etiam uoce praedicata, et idcirco in cunctis mundi partibus forma nostrae professionis facta est, quia in prae[di]cantium uocibus sibimet ipsa dissimilis non est'.

¹¹² *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 456, lines 31–33*: 'Theodorum quippe mortuum sancta synodus prima Ephesena damnavit; nam cum ab eius discipulis dictatum ab illo symbolum eadem synodo fuisset prolatum, ilico illic a sanctis patribus cum auctore damnatum est'; following the Fifth Council, *ACO, IV.1, p. 72*. Theodore's *Symbolum* is in *ACO, I.5, pp. 23–25*. On 22 July 431, the Council of Ephesus passed Canon 7 forbidding the use of any creed other than the Nicene when receiving converts: *ACO, I.1.7, pp. 105–06*. Charisius, a presbyter of the church of Philadelphia in Lydia, had complained that agents of Nestorius were imposing on Quartodeciman converts a heretical creed, *ACO, I.1.7, pp. 97–100*. While the minutes of the session do not attribute the creed to Theodore of Mopsuestia, this was the opinion of Cyril of Alexandria; see *Ep. 91, ACO, I.5, pp. 314–15*. Once Theodore's authorship of the 'falsified creed' was generally accepted, it could be argued that the provisions of Canon 7 applied to him. The bishops at the Fifth Council then 'correct' the historical record with the vignette of the synod crying out the

Vigilius, Pelagius I, and Facundus had insisted on distinguishing between the condemnation of the anonymous creed and Theodore, arguing that (Eutychian) heretics had sown confusion in the hopes of undermining Chalcedon.¹¹³ Gregory does not entertain their objections. Was he aware of the problem? At minimum, correspondence of the previous popes, Vigilius and Pelagius I, would have been readily available in papal archives, where the works of other dissenters such as Facundus were wanting. More important, however, is Gregory's bent of mind and his acknowledgement of confusion and uncertainty. 'Some think the first synod of Ephesus took place in the same city as the one formerly said to be composed of heretics', Gregory wrote Anastasius of Antioch, requesting copies he might have of the synod's acts.¹¹⁴ He views texts critically, recognizing that they can be interpolated, edited, and otherwise manipulated. He appreciates that an authoritative text is established by collating variant copies, and he is sensitive to problems of chronology, tradition, and the politics of councils.¹¹⁵ Chances favour Gregory's

condemnation of Theodore and his disciples after the reading of the *Symbolum*, *ACO*, IV.1, p. 72. I am indebted to Richard Price for his e-mail of 10 March 2005 on this point.

¹¹³ Vigilius recognized that Theodore was not condemned at the Council of Ephesus, and he knew in detail the circumstances of Charisius's complaint against the anonymous *Symbolum*; see *Constitutum*, 205, CSEL, 35.1, p. 286. Other dissenters had also recognized the problem; see Facundus, *Pro defensione*, II, ii 1, SC, 471, pp. 272–74; III, ii, 21–25, SC 478, 54–56; Pelagius I, *In defensione*, 3, ST, 57, pp. 13–14.

¹¹⁴ In *Ep.* IX, 136 (to Anastasius of Antioch, April 599), pp. 686–87, Gregory asks Anastasius to locate copies of the Council of Ephesus that he might compare with copies he has obtained: 'Praeterea dum de sanctorum conciliorum custodia tua fraternitas loqueretur, sanctam Ephesinam primam synodum se custodire professa est. Sed quia ex annotatione haeretici codicis, qui ad me ex regia urbe transmissus est, agnoui, per hoc quod quaedam catholica capitula cum haereticis fuerant reprehensa, quia quidam illam ephesinam primam synodum in eadem urbe existimant, quae quondam ab haereticis traditur esse composita, omnino necesse est ut caritas uestra eandem synodum apud sanctam alexandrinam atque antiochenam ecclesiam requirat et, qualiter in ueritate habeatur, inueniat; uel, si placet, hinc dirigimus quae ab antiquitate seruata in scriniis habemus. Illa enim synodus, quae sub primae Ephesinae imagine facta est, quaedam in se oblata capitula asserit approbata, quae sunt Caelestini atque Pelagii praedicamenta. Et cum Caelestinus atque Pelagius in ea synodo sint damnati, quomodo poterant illa capitula recipi, quorum damnabantur auctores?'

¹¹⁵ For instance, in *Ep.* VII, 5 (to Cyriacus, the patriarch of Constantinople, October 594), p. 452: Unlike Greek versions, Latin versions of the Council of Constantinople (381) do not condemn Eudoxians, nor can he find a condemnation of Eudoxius in Epiphanius, Augustine, or Philaster. In *Ep.* VII, 31 (to Eulogius of Alexandria and Anastasius of Antioch, June 597), p. 493, Gregory complains that the Roman Church does not have the same canons nor the same acts that

complicity in the misrepresentation. The unity of the Church necessitated compromises; the relative truth of historical fact would be subordinate to the absolute truth of love. The controversy really could be dismissed as ‘about nothing’, were it to focus on the higher goal. The end of unity warranted the adjustment of awkward facts.¹¹⁶

Using the proceedings of the Fifth Council, which had included the first part of Pope Vigilius’s *Constitutum* of 553 in its acts, Gregory reiterates much of that council’s dicey work.¹¹⁷ He repeats the Fifth Council’s (and Robber Council’s) affirmation of Cyril’s *Twelve Anathemas of Nestorius*, and the condemnations of Nestorianism written by Rabbula of Edessa, Proclus of Constantinople, John of Antioch, and Hesychius of Jerusalem that were especially fierce after the Council of Ephesus. He asks rhetorically whether Theodore can be ‘in harmony’ with the

Greeks possess of the Council of Constantinople (381), nor has it accepted them, rather only what was defined against Macedonius — not Eudoxius. But the Bishop of Alexandria responds by offering evidence of Eudoxius from the writings of Basil, Gregory, and Epiphanius, which Gregory acknowledges in *Ep.* VIII, 29, p. 552. The acts of the Council of Ephesus are also problematic. In *Ep.* VI, 14, p. 383, Gregory writes Narses in September of 595, questioning the accuracy of his copy of the acts of the First Council of Ephesus. His copy lacks the names of those condemned for Pelagianism (Adelfius, Sava, and others) that are found in other manuscripts; he especially wants to know about the condemnations of Pelagius and Celestinus. Gregory asks Narses to send him a copy of the oldest manuscript of the acts he can find at the Byzantine court. Gregory fears that his copy of the acts of the First Council of Ephesus may have been tampered with, just as the acts of Chalcedon were falsified in one place by the church of Constantinople (perhaps a reference to Canon 28). In *Ep.* IX, 136, pp. 685–87, Gregory writes to Anastasius; see the previous note. Gregory possesses a corrupt, annotated manuscript sent from Constantinople (perhaps by Narses in response to his request), as well as other copies of the acts of the Council of Ephesus, in addition to records from ‘the Council modeled on the first one at Ephesus’. In the hopes of establishing the text, he urges Anastasius to collate whatever copies of the acts that can be found in Alexandria and Antioch and in turn he will send Anastasius copies from the papal library.

¹¹⁶ Given Gregory’s savvy about conciliar documents, he should have been troubled by some facts. The Council of Chalcedon followed the first Council of Ephesus (431) and included Cyril’s anathemas only after the definition of the faith. Nor did Chalcedon even consider Theodore of Mopsuestia. Indeed, if Nestorius and Theodore had been condemned at Ephesus I (431), as was claimed at the Fifth Ecumenical Council, why did Chalcedon not repeat these condemnations? Why had Leo been so silent about them? At the Fifth Council, the question did arise whether or not Cyril’s *Twelve Anathemas* had actually been accepted officially by the entire Council of Chalcedon, because they had been inserted in the acts only after the profession of faith; see *ACO*, IV.2, p. 173; and Chadwick, *The Church in Ancient Society*, p. 533. One must conclude that Gregory chose to take the Fifth Council’s understanding of the Council of Chalcedon quite deliberately.

¹¹⁷ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 457.

teachings of the apostles, evangelists, and prophets if his writings ‘with wicked daring deny that our Redeemer is God’.¹¹⁸ Just as damning, Theodore’s ‘letter defends Nestorius, the enemy of the Church, and accuses Cyril, the defender of the Church’.¹¹⁹ Gregory quotes spurious laws of Theodosius and Valentinian condemning Nestorius and Theodore that had been invented by the Fifth Council,¹²⁰ and he follows the Fifth Council in asserting that Chalcedon had condemned Nestorius even after his death.¹²¹ For Gregory, this lengthy list of experts and precedents supplies the preponderance of evidence needed to seal Theodore’s fate. ‘And therefore with so many witnesses exhibited, who can doubt these blasphemies are his; and when so many of his blasphemies are known, who can deny that he was rightly condemned?’¹²² In large measure, Theodore is damned by the company he does not keep.

If the first Council of Ephesus was reinterpreted for the sake of Theodore’s condemnation, Chalcedon suffered violation for Ibas. If Chalcedon had rehabilitated Ibas of Edessa and accepted his *Letter to Mari* (433), orthodoxy would be moot, because the dialectical zig-zag of councils would be evident in Chalcedon’s recognition of a document critical of Cyril, the hero of Ephesus. Ibas had charged

¹¹⁸ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp*, 2, *Appendix*, III, pp. 456, line 40 – 461, line 30. Gregory’s condemnation of the First Chapter follows the Fourth Session of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, *ACO*, IV.1, pp. 44–72, which contains the first part of Vigilius’s *Constitutum* of 553. Gregory also uses the Eighth Session of the Fifth Council, which contains the canons: *ACO*, IV.1, pp. 215–20.

¹¹⁹ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 454, lines 12–16. The whole passage reads: ‘pensate, quaeso, fratres karissimi, si scripta Theodori prophetis et evangelicis atque apostolicis auctoritatibus consonant, quae redemptorem nostrum iniquis ausibus deum negant; pensate si illa epistola prophetis, evangelicis atque apostolicis auctoritatibus consonare videatur, in qua et hostis ecclesiae Nestorius defenditur et defensor ecclesiae Kyrillus accusatur; pensate si illa Theodori scripta prophetis, euangelicis atque apostolicis auctoritatibus consonant, quae prius contra rectam fidem edita, ipse postmodum conversus damnat’.

¹²⁰ Schwartz notes that these are interpolations extant only in the Latin version of Justinian’s code; see Pelagius II, *Ep. 3*, *ACO*, IV.2, p. 125, note on lines 30–34. As deacon, Pelagius had looked for a law of Theodosius II and Valentinian III against Theodore but had been unable to find it in Justinian’s code; see Pelagius I, *In defensione*, 3, ST, 57, p. 12. Cf. Facundus, *Pro defensione*, II, ii, 5–6, SC, 471, pp. 276–78.

¹²¹ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 461, lines 41–43: ‘in gestis synodi anathematizatus Nestorius etiam post mortem dicitur, in uerbis uero epistolae etiam post depositionem suam pro solo ciuium suorum odio ad ciuitatem suam non redisse perhibetur’. This would supply a precedent for condemning Theodore after his death.

¹²² *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 461, lines 28–29: ‘Deductis itaque tot testibus blasphemias has eius esse quis dubitet?’

Cyril with Apollinarianism in his *Letter to Mari*. Were this true, it would cast doubt on Cyril's orthodoxy; Cyril's condemnation of Nestorius might be impeached as reflecting his own extremism, and the defence of Nestorius by Theodore, Ibas, and Theodoret might seem legitimate. The first Council of Ephesus (431), as Gregory misunderstood it, would be suspect. This cannot be the case. Gregory is adamant that the *Letter to Mari* is a forgery and full of lies, in any case. Cyril did not lean towards Apollinarianism, nor did Ibas, whom Chalcedon restored, even write the letter in question.

More shocking, the *Letter to Mari* actually claimed that Cyril had corrupted the Council of Ephesus (431) — that Cyril had 'blind[ed] the wise with the drug of bribes'. How could truth be certain if it were alleged that priests 'sold the truth'? But Gregory bristles at such a preposterous suggestion: 'Who consents patiently to listen to this?'¹²³ The unthinkable is indeed disturbing. How could the Council of Chalcedon have possibly accepted Ibas if he had made such charges against Cyril, the standard-bearer of orthodoxy? If Cyril had been Apollinarian, and if he had bribed the council, then in accepting Ibas and his *Letter to Mari*, Chalcedon would be seem to be a reaction to Ephesus — even retribution for it. Again, the letter must be a forgery; otherwise 'not only the Council of Chalcedon is overturned', but also 'the entire faith; and belief in the holy Synod of Ephesus dissolves'.¹²⁴ The choice is obvious: 'Therefore, one letter is condemned as lying, lest both holy synods bear the crime of such great falsity.'¹²⁵

Ultimately, the Istrians must make a leap of faith and believe that faith is as Gregory defines it — unified: 'Let us hold on to the foundation of your faith lest, as the first holy Synod of Ephesus is argued to be venal, it is said that the Synod of

¹²³ *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 462, lines 18–21*: 'haec quippe ait, quod in ea Kyrillus praemiorum medicamine sapientum oculos excaecavit. Quid ergo illic de veritate certum dicitur, ubi ipsa veritas sacerdotibus vendita esse perhibetur? Sed quis hoc dicere, quis hoc consentiat patienter audire?'

¹²⁴ *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 462, lines 16–19*. Gregory has just examined at length Ibas's *Letter to Mari*: 'Sed cur tantum modo sanctam Chalcedonensem synodum convelli dicimus, si auctoritatem huic epistolae praebeamus? Quae nimium si vera creditur, etiam tota sanctae Ephesenae synodi fides ac reverentia dissipatur.' Dissenters argued that Ibas's letter was composed when Cyril's orthodoxy was still in question; cf. Gregory, *Ep. IX, 148* (to Secundinus, May 599), p. 702: 'Sed quia eius defensores solent dicere quod hanc Ibas eo tempore scripsit, quo adhuc Cyrillus propter duodecim capitula quae necdum exposuerat dubius habebatur.'

¹²⁵ *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 462, lines 21–22*: 'Reprobetur ergo una epistola mentiens, ne utraque sancta synodus tanta falsitatis crimen sustineat.'

Chalcedon — God forbid — is marked with the sin of inconsistency.¹²⁶ Gregory offers arguments; but ultimately he pleads that the Istrians take a leap of faith and trust him. Were the Istrians to agree that inviolable faith was limited to the narrowest possible compass, they would have to cease complaining about the Fifth Council, because the council's definition of faith was consistent with that of the other ecumenical councils.

To prove that the faith is unified and consistent — that the condemnation of the Three Chapters has changed nothing — Gregory develops an ontological equation. Love *is* unity in the body of Christ, which *is* a unanimity that *is* manifest in consistency of councils. Truth could not exist if councils were inconsistent, nor would they have authority, which *is* strength that translates into prosperity. The very existence of the Church is proof that it holds the truth. The Istrians should realize their error:

Therefore, dearest brothers, if you did not see faith flourish in a unified and solid state in all parts of the world, you would rightly say that something had overturned the holy Synod of Chalcedon; but inasmuch as nothing at all happened except what was stirred up by individuals, nothing has been taken away from the confession of the holy Synod of Chalcedon — what else is it than to seek wars in words of peace and reject the authority of the fathers while seeming to follow it?¹²⁷

The external proof of the Fifth Council's orthodoxy is self-evident in the continued existence of the Church and its success in repressing heresy, which all affirm, except the Istrians, who are deceitfully querulous.

Gregory's position here is in keeping with an earlier comment: 'Behold the holy and universal Church in all parts of the world shines out with rays of its unity; but yet it still bears the shade of your division.'¹²⁸ This aims to refute another of the Istrians' contentions, namely, that 'when this matter began Pope Vigilius and all the leaders of all the Latin provinces strongly resisted the

¹²⁶ *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 462, lines 22–25*: 'vestrae fidei fundamentum tenens, ne, postquam sancta prima Ephesena synodus quasi venalis arguitur, Chalcedonensis etiam, quod absit, culpa varietatis notetur, quae, ut in verbis suis, quanta sit concordiae, clareat, necesse est, ut vestra fraternitas ubi sit completa, cognoscat'.

¹²⁷ *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 452, lines 1–5*: 'Si igitur fidem, fratres carissimi, in cunctis mundi partibus uno ac solido statu vigere non cerneretis, convulsum quicquam de sancta Chalcedonese synodo recte diceretis; at postquam nihil nunc aliud nisi de personis agitur, nihil de sancta Chalcedonensis synodi professione truncatur, quid aliud quam in verbis pacis iurgia quaeritis et auctoritatem patrum quasi sequendo declinatis?'

¹²⁸ *Ep. 3, MGH, Epp, 2, Appendix, III, p. 450, lines 20–21*; see above, note 21.

condemnation of the Three Chapters; therefore neither should they consent to it'.¹²⁹ Gregory takes a contrary position: given the ubiquity of Rome's faith now, the Istrians should be converted all the more rapidly. If Istrians are the oddballs, another justification of their resistance falls flat.

Gregory's position presumes ignorance of the actual deeds of Chalcedon, whether willful or unintentional. His arguments follow the Fifth Council's use (or abuse) of Chalcedon in the Tenth Session, where the *Letter to Mari* is compared with the doctrine of Chalcedon — which is taken to represent Cyril, rather than his own writings. Given this, Gregory argues that Cyril is orthodox, making the so-called Ibas Nestorian in his criticism of Cyril.¹³⁰ In the deeds of the synod (*in gestis synodi*), the Lord and God is one person in two natures; but in the words of the letter (*in verbis vero epistolae*), 'Ibas' says that Cyril believes in one nature alone. Gregory catalogues similar contrasts to prove that 'Ibas' is entirely at odds with Chalcedon/Cyril. In the letter, Jesus Christ is 'Son' and 'Lord', but the council also calls him 'God'. In the letter, Nestorius was deposed unjustly, but the synod condemned Nestorius even after his death. The synod never calls Theodore 'teacher of truth' (*doctor veritatis*), but the letter grants Theodore that honourable title, and so forth. Clearly, both the *Letter to Mari* and the acts of the council cannot be true. Is the letter a lying forgery, or are councils inconsistent and guilty of the great crime of falsity?¹³¹ Surely, the former.

In dealing with the Third Chapter, certain writings of Theodoret of Cyrrihus, Gregory again follows the proceedings of the Fifth Council. He reassures the Istrians that not all of Theodoret's writings are to be condemned, only his writings against Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas* and his heretical notion that the Song of Songs is a poem about human love. Theodoret shares Nestorius's misunderstanding of Christ's two natures, making him too human; while Cyril led the charge against Nestorius, Theodoret condemned him only after the Synod of Chalcedon had anathematized him.¹³² To condemn Cyril's *Anathemas* is *prima facie* evidence

¹²⁹ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 455, lines 6–8: 'ne huic rei quae sub pia memoriae Iustiniano principe gesta est, consentire debeatis, atque hanc opitulationem excusationi vestrae adiungitis, dicentes quod in causae principio et sedes apostolica per Vigilium papam et omnes Latinarum provinciarum pontifices damnationi trium capitulorum fortiter restiterunt'; cf. *Ep. ad Mauricium*, *ACO*, IV.2, pp. 132–35.

¹³⁰ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp*, 2, *Appendix*, III, pp. 461, line 30 – 462, line 15.

¹³¹ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 462, lines 16–25.

¹³² Theodoret condemned Theodore of Mopsuestia at the Eighth Session of the Council of Chalcedon, after which he was restored to his see.

of heresy, because Cyril is the standard of orthodoxy (as Gregory assumed when criticizing Ibas). Because the Fifth Council repeats Cyril's criticism of Theodore (that Theodore denied Christ's consubstantiality with the Father and implied that Christ had two persons), Gregory feels free to argue that the Fifth Council in no way deviated from the actions of the holy synod that condemned Nestorius.¹³³ Dissenters, on the other hand, saw Chalcedon as vindicating the opponents of Cyrillian extremists, Ibas, Theodoret, and others.

Gregory believes he has given the Istrians every possible reason to put aside their stubborn dissent. That his minimalist argument depends on legal technicalities (if not casuistry) suggests a general appreciation of how artificial and adventitious the decisions of councils could be. Only the narrow definition of faith, the small core all Christians share, really mattered. In keeping this narrow definition, Gregory follows Vigilius and Pelagius I confirming the first four councils, and like Pelagius, he ignores the fifth.¹³⁴ Christians could agree on this. Throughout his *liber*, and later as Pope, Gregory hoped to communicate the transcendent importance of the larger issue of unity, the concord of the body of Christ whose members are joined in love.

In the final analysis, love is Gregory's supreme and his fundamental argument. Citing Cyprian and Augustine, he follows Pelagius II's first two letters to the Istrians. Schismatics ipso facto are damned because they betray the most basic principle of Christianity, love, which is 'the mother of the virtues'.¹³⁵ Love unifies and animates the body of Christ; it is a harmonious interconnectedness that makes the body whole, a *compago*. In breaking the sensitivity uniting a body, schism wounds the entire Church; it cuts off one member when all should be joined in one body:

For a head cannot rejoice in health when the arms are wasted, and the breast cannot rejoice that it is whole when it is touched by the pains of servile innards, for the whole company (*compago*) of the body is affected if a part of it or an extremity is wounded. Whatever therefore it is which feels another part suffering, it draws to itself in the harmony of love, as Paul testifies when he says: 'If any one member suffers, all the others suffer together' (1 Corinthians 12. 26). And so it is we who are transfixed by your pain, we who are cut off by your schism.¹³⁶

¹³³ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 465, lines 35–37.

¹³⁴ Cf. Vigilius, *Ep. 12*, *PL*, 69, col. 51.

¹³⁵ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 449, line 24: 'Virtutum mater caritas'.

¹³⁶ *Ep. 3*, MGH, *Epp.*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 450, lines 22–26: 'neque enim sanum caput brachiis marcentibus gaudet nec se quasi incolume esse pectus laetatur, cum subiectorum viscerum

This company is implicitly mystical: through love, individuals participate in the transcendent body of Christ, sharing a oneness of mind (*unanimitas*), implying both consensus and unity. Love makes one consider the whole of Christ's body before oneself: 'Love serves for the Redeemer's gain and never for its own', Gregory writes, echoing I Corinthians 13. 5.¹³⁷ Love is the origin of virtue as its 'mother' and without love there is no salvation: 'when you separate yourself from the unity of the Church, you have lost every merit of virtue, even if you should hold on fast; indeed, it is written, "Follow peace with all men and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord" (Hebrews 12. 14).' ¹³⁸

At the end of his *liber* Gregory leaves the initiative to the Istrians, appealing to the power of love to end the schism: 'So if there is any comfort in Christ, any consolation in love, any participation in the Spirit, any affection and sympathy, complete my joy by being of the same mind, having the same love, being in full accord and of one mind (Philippians 2. 1–2).' ¹³⁹ They must 'bend their hearts' and 'be healed'. Noting Paul's horror at dividing the body of Christ, he tells them that they should not rush to do what Paul feared to do. They should be like Augustine who, in quoting their martyr Cyprian as his authority, gave something to the Donatists; for he cared for the unity of the Church, not his own name. ¹⁴⁰

Despite the warmth of this appeal and its considerable charm, Gregory was uncertain of its persuasion. He warns the Istrians that they are sorely misguided — they may have a zeal for God, but it is not enlightened (cf. Romans 10. 2). They must not flee communion with the orthodox, or this will become a sentence of damnation against them. Before pleading 'with tears' (*fletibus exoramus*) that they

doloribus tangitur. tota namque corporis compago afficitur, si pars eius vel extrema laceratur. quicquid ergo est quod aliam pati sentit, in se armonia caritatis adtrahit, Paulo adtestante, qui ait: "et si quid patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur cetera membra" (I Corinthians 12. 26). nos itaque sumus, qui vestro dolore transfigimur, nos, qui vestris scissionibus secamur.'

¹³⁷ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 449, lines 24–25: 'quae redemptoris sui lucris serviens numquam ea quae sua sunt quaerit'.

¹³⁸ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 467, lines 3–4: 'dum vos ab ecclesiae unitate disiungitis, omne virtutis meritum perdidistis, etiam si recte teneatis; scriptum quippe est: "Pacem aequimini cum omnibus et sanctimoniam, sine quo nemo videbit deum."'

¹³⁹ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 466, lines 32–34: 'si qua consolatio in Christo, si quod solacium caritatis, si qua societas spiritus, si qua viscera et miserationes, implete gaudium meum, ut idem sapientes, eandem caritatem habentes, unianimes id ipsum sentientes (Philippians 2. 1–2)'.

¹⁴⁰ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, pp. 466, line 44 – 467, line 1.

return to the concord of the Church, Gregory inserts a hasty confirmation of the four councils, assuring the Istrians again of his orthodoxy.¹⁴¹ Yet, a decade later Gregory would still find it necessary to assure the Istrians with his confession of faith.¹⁴² More to the point, he will still forbear reminding the Istrians that the Fifth Council is held to be orthodox in the western as well as the eastern Church.

As Pope, Gregory continued the *liber's* minimalist view of the Three Chapters controversy. The real issue became whether or not one chose to trust the papacy that the controversy was 'about nothing', a mere question of 'persons', or to be defiant, as the Istrians were, insisting that the papacy's reversal at the Fifth Council *did* matter.¹⁴³ Doctrinal differences were reduced to a vote on unity (or schism) itself, on whether or not to agree with Rome. Gregory was infuriated by 'the wicked men who flee the discipline of the Church by finding an excuse in the Three Chapters'.¹⁴⁴ In modern terms, the Three Chapters became a 'wedge issue', a public question (often largely symbolic) that exposes deeper ideological divisions. The schism eventually ended when parties allowed themselves to be convinced of Rome's position, when Rome no longer posed a political danger, but appeared desirable as an ally whose tradition, culture, and prestige could be appropriated by the new kingdom of the Lombards.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 467, lines 9–12.

¹⁴² *Ep.* IV, 3 (to Constantius, September 593), p. 218; *Ep.* V, 52 (to Theodelinda, July 595), pp. 346–47.

¹⁴³ The institution itself becomes the means of verifying orthodoxy; see Sotinel, 'Le concile, l'empereur, l'évêque', p. 287.

¹⁴⁴ *Ep.* IX, 148 (to Secundinus, May 599), p. 701: 'Peruersi autem homines, qui, trium capitulorum occasione repperta, ecclesiasticam disciplinam fugiunt.' Cf. *Ep.* II, 43 ('To All [lacuna]', August 592), p. 132: 'Porro autem si post huius libri lectionem in ea qua estis uolueritis deliberatione persistere, sine dubio non rationi operam sed obstinationi uos dare monstratis'; *Ep.* IV, 2 (to Constantius of Milan, September 593), p. 218: 'exquisita occasione potius quam inuenta, tres se episcopi a fraternitatis uestrae communione separauerint'; *Ep.* IV, 3 (to Constantius of Milan, September 593), p. 220: 'Quem igitur ista mea confessio non sanat non iam Chalcedonensem synodum diligit, sed matris ecclesiae sinum odit. Si ergo ea ipsa quae audere uisi sunt zelo loqui animae praesumpserunt, superest ut, hac satisfactione suscepta, ad fraternitatis tuae unitatem redeant, seque a Christi corpore, quod est sancta uniuersalis ecclesia, non diuidant.'

¹⁴⁵ The Lombards could accept a papacy less subordinate to Byzantium, so that religion could be a unifying force; see Giuseppe Cusito, 'La politica religiosa della corte longobarda di fronte allo scisma dei Tre Capitoli', in *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, Milano 21–25 Ottobre 1978*, 2 vols (Spoleto: Presso La Sede del Centro Studi, 1980), II, 373–81 (esp. p. 381).

THE THREE CHAPTERS CONTROVERSY AND THE BIBLICAL DIAGRAMMS OF CASSIODORUS'S CODEX GRANDIOR AND *INSTITUTIONS*

Celia Chazelle

A notable characteristic of Christian art from the late antique Mediterranean is the importance of imagery alluding to doctrines of the Trinity and Christ. The most impressive surviving productions occur among the mosaics of churches, but ivory carvings, catacomb paintings, and manuscript illuminations also testify to the artistic interest in these themes. Art historians searching for parallels in contemporary literature have often turned to the debates over Christological and Trinitarian orthodoxy of the fourth through seventh centuries, for which the ecumenical councils provided a central arena. Concerning a small subset of these works of art from the sixth and early seventh centuries, a few scholars have argued that some inspiration came from the varying reactions to the Three Chapters controversy. Recently, for example, Dorothy Verkerk has suggested that the creation miniature in the Ashburnham Pentateuch (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat., 2334, fol. 1^v), a late sixth- or early seventh-century manuscript probably made in Italy, shows sensitivity to the discussions of Trinitarian dogma fuelled by the conflict.¹ And Luise Abramowski

This article has benefitted from the comments and criticism of numerous friends and colleagues. In particular, I wish to thank my co-editor Catherine Cubitt, and Robert Markus and James O'Donnell for their reading and critique of earlier drafts, and Peter Brown for his many insights and counsel offered over innumerable cups of coffee. I have tried to address the concerns of all these scholars and follow their suggestions for revisions; I remain alone responsible for persistent errors and flaws.

¹ Dorothy Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 62–70, reproduction p. 53 fig. 15. Although

has reconsidered the quarrel's possible influence on the apse mosaics of Justinian's church at Mount Sinai and the church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna. The latter work, dedicated in 549, may reflect the adherence of the new archbishop Maximian to Justinian's Neo-Chalcedonian theology.²

This article focuses on three diagrams of scripture that Cassiodorus tells us he commissioned for his *Codex Grandior* and on their probable decoration with pictures of a male bust, a lamb, and a dove symbolizing the Trinity. Cassiodorus was in Constantinople by c. 550 and may have moved there from Ravenna as early as 540; he left the imperial city in the early 550s for his monastery of Vivarium in Squillace, Calabria. *Grandior*, a pandect (one-volume Bible containing both the Old and the New Testaments), was produced within the few years after his arrival at Vivarium. The manuscript is no longer extant, but its three biblical schemata were subsequently copied into Book I of his manual for the education of his monks, the *Institutions*, possibly without their pictures;³ and the same diagrams later inspired the three diagrams of scripture decorated with images of a lamb, a dove, and a male bust in the famous early eighth-century English Bible, the *Codex Amiatinus* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana BML, Cod. Amiatino 1, fols 5/VI^r, 8^r, 6/VII^r; see Figs 2–4 below). The *Institutions*, which survive in multiple copies, were written in several stages. Book II on the liberal arts was likely first composed prior to or during Cassiodorus's stay in Constantinople. It was revised when Book I, on divine learning, was begun by 562. Cassiodorus's final

I agree with Verkerk that the Ashburnham Pentateuch miniature may have been influenced by the quarrels over the Three Chapters, the theological perspective it suggests seems in line with their defence rather than Rome's position (as Verkerk argues), since the depiction of three separate creators more clearly stresses distinct personhood than union in a single Godhead. Thus the painting recalls the teachings of Pope Leo I, as Verkerk notes, but as interpreted by opponents to Justinian's policy. Both Rome and defenders of the Three Chapters appealed to Leo. See Robert Eno, 'Papal Damage Control in the Aftermath of the Three Chapters Controversy', *Studia Patristica*, 19 (1989), 52–56 (pp. 54–55).

² Luise Abramowski, 'Die Mosaiken von S. Vitale und S. Apollinare in Classe und die Kirchenpolitik Kaiser Justinians', *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum*, 5 (2001), 289–331 + plates (see pp. 307–09 on the Mt Sinai mosaic, within a discussion of Sant' Apollinare in Classe).

³ Critical edition of the treatise but without the biblical diagrams in *Cassiodori senatoris Institutiones*, ed. by R. A. B. Mynors, corrected repr. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961). On Cassiodorus's career, with references to earlier bibliography, see most recently *Cassiodorus: Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning and On the Soul*, trans. with notes by James W. Halporn, introd. by Mark Vessey, Translated Texts for Historians, 42 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004), 'Introduction', pp. 3–101 (pp. 13–19). The classic study of Cassiodorus remains James J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

redaction of the two-book *Institutions* cannot be traced much before the early 580s, but both sections contain evidence of significant editing and revision. Thus the work as a whole seems the product of two or more decades of thinking, writing, and rewriting contemporaneous with the aftermath of the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553) and the ensuing schisms in North Africa and Italy.⁴

My principal aim is to explore the ‘why’ of Cassiodorus’s biblical diagrams and Trinitarian images — why they were made and included in *Grandior* and *Institutions* I — and how insight on this issue can elucidate his attitude towards the condemnation of the Three Chapters. To a large extent, this is an exercise in the analysis of form as a conveyor of meaning. It is grounded in the view that both abstract artistic compositions and pictorial representations can sometimes tell us as much or even more about contemporary thought than do texts, not only because of connections that can be found between the ‘visual’ and the textual evidence but also because of ways the forms operate independently of the written word. My discussion here necessarily remains somewhat tentative. There is nothing polemical about these diagrams or their art; neither they nor the discussions of them in *Institutions* I overtly support (or reject) the Three Chapters, and in certain respects I feel as if I am working with gossamer threads in suggesting a correspondence with Cassiodorus’s view of the conflict. Nevertheless, when these threads are woven together, it does seem to me that they reveal a mind set plausibly leading to, and shedding some light on, his apparent ambivalence about Justinian’s policy. To demonstrate this, I first review the evidence other scholars have gathered concerning Cassiodorus’s perception of the controversy. I then examine the design of the scripture charts and their art in light of certain recurrent themes in his exegetical and doctrinal writings and *Institutions*, yet with attentiveness, as well, to ideas that the forms alone may imply more clearly than the literature. This approach, I think, provides us with the best framework for gauging the intellectual inspiration for the diagrams and its relation to his response to the quarrel.

Cassiodorus and the Three Chapters

Cassiodorus’s writings do not explicitly refer to the Three Chapters or the conflict precipitated by the judgement against them, but a letter by Pope Vigilius of c. 550

⁴ The stages of composition of the *Institutions* are lucidly summarized in *Cassiodorus: Institutions*, ‘Introduction’, pp. 39–42. Of the competing theories about the writing of the treatise, Fabio Troncarelli’s views are most persuasive: *Vivarium, i libri, il destino* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 12–21, 29–33, with references to earlier bibliography.

mentions him in the papal entourage at Constantinople and notes his assistance in the efforts to win Vigilius's followers, the deacons Rusticus and Sebastianus, over to Justinian's decree.⁵ Also close to the Pope at the time was Bishop Zacchaeus of Squillace, the diocese to which the Cassiodorus family estates belonged, where Vivarium was founded. Whether or not the monastery was established when Vigilius wrote his letter, the presence of Zacchaeus in the papal circle (he subscribed to Vigilius's *First Constitutum* condemning Theodore of Mopsuestia) is indicative of the ties between the diocese and the holy see.⁶

If Cassiodorus initially favoured the Chapters' rejection, though, any enthusiasm he felt for that policy seems to have ebbed by the time he was at Vivarium, if not before. For Michael Maas, his primary stance was one of 'studied neutrality';⁷ for Samuel Barnish, he came to distance himself 'from both sides, but especially, perhaps, from the official'.⁸ The various indications of this noted by Barnish and James O'Donnell are individually minor and indirect yet have significant cumulative effect.⁹ One is simply the absence of any expression, in Cassiodorus's writings, of support for the Council of 553, despite his involvement with Vigilius in the imperial city in the immediately preceding years. Additionally, attention has been drawn to his continued use after 553 of writings important in the defence of the Three Chapters, such as works by Hilary of Poitiers and by Primasius of Hadrumetum and Facundus of Hermiane, two of the defenders, and to his interest in the exegetical methods favoured by Theodore of Mopsuestia and his students. The possible influence of Theodore's Psalm exegesis has been detected in Cassiodorus's *Expositio Psalmorum*, a treatise perhaps largely written in Constantinople but revised at Vivarium;¹⁰ and the *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, commissioned at Vivarium from Cassiodorus's colleague Epiphanius, contained Latin translations of Greek historical writings by Theodoret of Cyrrhus as well as Socrates and Sozomen. For Pope Gregory I, the *History's* praise of Theodore of Mopsuestia

⁵ *Ep. ad Rusticum et Sebastianum*, 18, in *ACO*, IV.1, p. 193, lines 18–19.

⁶ Samuel Barnish, 'The Work of Cassiodorus After his Conversion', *Latomus: Revue d'études latines*, 48 (1989), 157–87 (p. 159); O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, p. 133 n. 1.

⁷ Michael Maas, *Exegesis and Empire in the Early Byzantine Mediterranean: Junillus Africanus and the Instituta regularia divinae legis* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 33, 51–52.

⁸ Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', p. 162.

⁹ Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', pp. 159–69; O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, pp. 133–36, 166–72. Also see Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, pp. 14–15, 35–36.

¹⁰ Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', p. 162. On the dating and recensions of the *Expositio Psalmorum*, see *Cassiodorus: Institutions*, 'Introduction', pp. 23, 35–36.

constituted an unacceptable deviation from the Fifth Council.¹¹ Finally, one should note the admiration that Cassiodorus repeatedly expresses of the Council of Chalcedon and its doctrinal decisions, in the Psalm commentary and *Institutions*. As O'Donnell has observed, the praise of the Fourth Council, Pope Leo I, and the dogma of Christ's one person in and of two natures in the *Expositio Psalmorum* clearly falls closer to the rhetoric of defenders of the Three Chapters than to that of their opponents.¹² And *Institutions* I, chapter 11 makes no mention of Constantinople II (553) yet hails the first four ecumenical synods, especially Chalcedon: its *Codex Encyclius*, Cassiodorus asserts, proves that the Fourth Council is comparable to 'sacred authority'.¹³

The Codex Grandior

This evidence, albeit limited, of Cassiodorus's point of view should be kept in mind as we consider Grandior and his biblical diagrams. Our knowledge of both Grandior and its three charts is based, first, on writings by Cassiodorus and Bede, whose early career at the Northumbrian monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow coincided with the production there of the Codex Amiatinus;¹⁴ second, on the

¹¹ 'Illo quoque tempore, quo sacratissimus Theodotus Antiochenam regebat ecclesiam, Theodorus Mompusustiae quidem episcopus, sed totius doctor ecclesiae, dum contra universam cohortem hereticorum fortiter dimicasset, terminum vitae sortitus est. Is enim Diodori quidem magni doctrina potitus est, Iohannis vero sacratissimi fuit socius atque cooperator; communiter enim Diodori pocula spiritalia sunt adepti. Qui sex et triginta annis mansit in praesulatu et contra Arii Eunomii acies fortissime proeliatus est insidiasque latronis Apollinaris extinxit optimaque pascua divinis ovibus praeparavit. Cuius frater Polycronius Apamenam rexit ecclesiam et gratia sermonis et claritate conversationis ornatus': *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, X, 34, ed. by Walter Jacob and Rudolph Hanslik, CSEL, 71 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1952), pp. 627–28. In light of this passage, it is hard to imagine that Cassiodorus did not have a favourable opinion of Theodore. Also see *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* X, 3, CSEL, 71, p. 584; Gregory I (citing Sozomen), *Ep.* VII, 31, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. by Dag Norberg, 2 vols, CCL, 140–140A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), 140, p. 493; Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', pp. 160–63.

¹² O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, pp. 166–70.

¹³ *Inst.*, I, 11, ed. by Mynors, pp. 35–36: 'Calchedonensis autem synodi testis est codex Encyclius, qui eius reverentiam tanta laude concelebrat, ut sanctae auctoritati merito iudicet comparandam.'

¹⁴ The relevant writings of Cassiodorus: *Exp. Ps.* 14, *Expositio Psalmorum*, ed. by M. Adriaen, 2 vols, CCL, 97–98 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958), 97, p. 133, lines 43–45; *Exp. Ps.* 86, CCL, 98, pp. 789–90, lines 40–44; *Inst.*, I, 5. 2 and 12–14, ed. by Mynors, pp. 23, 36–41. The relevant

illuminated and written pages in Amiatinus apparently inspired by pages in Grandior, among them the English Bible's own scripture diagrams;¹⁵ and third on decorated manuscripts of the *Institutions*. Amiatinus was one of three pandects made at Wearmouth-Jarrow under Ceolfrid, abbot of both houses (Wearmouth and Jarrow) from 689 to 716. We learn from Bede that Ceolfrid had acquired an 'ancient translation' (*translatio uetusta*) of scripture when he visited Rome and Pope Agatho c. 678 in the company of Benedict Biscop, founder and first abbot of Wearmouth and co-founder, with Ceolfrid, of Jarrow.¹⁶ This acquisition can only have been Grandior; it is reasonable to conclude that the codex had gone from Vivarium to Rome, possibly as a gift to the Pope, possibly along with other manuscripts, sometime after Cassiodorus's death.¹⁷ During Ceolfrid's abbacy of

writings of Bede: *Historia abbatum*, 15, in *Venerabilis Baedae Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum, Historiam Abbatum, Epistolam ad Ecgbertum, una cum Historia Abbatum Auctore Anonymo*, ed. by Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1896), I, 364–87 (pp. 379–80); *Quaestio* 18, in *Regum librum XXX quaestiones*, ed. by David Hurst, CCSL, 119 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), p. 312, lines 52–59; *De Tabernaculo*, II, ed. by David Hurst, CCSL, 119A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), pp. 81–82, lines 1563–70; *De Templo*, II, CCSL, 119A, pp. 192–93.

¹⁵ *La Bibbia Amiatina/The Codex Amiatinus, Complete Reproduction on CD-ROM of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1* (Florence: SISMELE, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2000). On Amiatinus's art and codicology, with references to earlier bibliography and reproductions of most of the decorated leaves, see my articles 'Ceolfrid's Gift to St. Peter: The First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus and the Evidence of its Roman Destination', *Early Medieval Europe*, 12 (2004), 129–57; and 'Christ and the Vision of God: The Biblical Diagrams of the Codex Amiatinus', in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Medieval West*, ed. by Jeffrey Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 84–111.

¹⁶ Bede, *Historia abbatum*, 15, p. 379; also see (on Ceolfrid's trip but not his acquisition) the anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi*, 10, in *Venerabilis Baedae*, I, 388–404 (p. 391). Ceolfrid's career is analyzed in Ian Wood, *The Most Holy Abbot Ceolfrid* (Jarrow Lecture, 1995).

¹⁷ The evidence that Grandior was the manuscript Ceolfrid brought back to Wearmouth from Rome is too substantial to be ignored. Numerous manuscripts are known to have gone from Vivarium to other ecclesiastical centres, including Rome, in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, some possibly as gifts to the Lateran. It makes a great deal of sense to suppose that Grandior was one of them. See Chazelle, 'Christ and the Vision of God', esp. p. 85; Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', p. 168, and more generally, pp. 159–60, 167–74. Cf. Michael Gorman, 'The Codex Amiatinus: A Guide to the Legends and Bibliography', *Studi Medievali, serie terza*, 44 (2003), 863–910 (pp. 869–72); Karen Corsano, 'The First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus and the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus', *Scriptorium*, 41 (1987), 3–34 + plates. Despite my disagreement with Corsano on this point, her article is very valuable for its comparative analysis of Grandior, the *Institutions*, and Amiatinus.

the combined monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow and most likely towards the end of this period, the English scriptorium drew on Grandior in designing the illustrated pages of Amiatinus, the only one of its three pandects to survive with all its leaves. In June 716, Wearmouth-Jarrow sent Amiatinus as a gift to Rome.¹⁸

In *Institutions* I, a treatise Wearmouth-Jarrow probably did not own (see Appendix), Cassiodorus informs us that Grandior contained ninety-five quaternions (760 folios), and he makes clear that its Old Testament was Jerome's revised Old Latin translation based on the Septuagint in Origen's *Hexapla*. While the Latin version of its New Testament is uncertain, it is implied that this was also a pre-Vulgate text believed to be Jerome's work.¹⁹ Both Cassiodorus and Bede mention as well Grandior's plans of the Desert Tabernacle and the Jerusalem Temple; the two pictures probably served jointly as models for Amiatinus's plan of the Tabernacle (Fig. 1). A passage Cassiodorus added to his *Exposition* on Psalm 14 after Grandior's production notes that the depiction of the Tabernacle was placed at his pandect's opening, and this was probably also true of the Temple image.²⁰

The only remaining contents of Grandior mentioned by Cassiodorus (Bede only discusses the Tabernacle and Temple pictures) are its three biblical diagrams, charts presenting lists of the books of the Old and New Testaments arranged in divergent orders and groupings (Prophets, Histories, Gospels, and so on).

¹⁸ Chazelle, 'Ceolfrid's Gift', pp. 131–46; Richard Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 87–90, 107–201.

¹⁹ *Inst.*, I, 14. 2–3, ed. by Mynors, p. 40. Jerome's Old Latin translation of the Old Testament was incomplete, but Cassiodorus thought he was responsible for the entire text in Grandior: Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, pp. 114, 116–17, 131 (mistaking the count of folios in Grandior); cf. James W. Halporn, 'Pandectes, Pandecta, and the Cassiodorian Commentary on the Psalms', *Revue Bénédictine*, 90 (1980), 290–300 (esp. p. 297, with the correct count).

²⁰ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1, fols 2/II^v–7/III^r. Cf. Cassiodorus, *Exp. Ps.* 14, CCSL, 97, p. 133, lines 43–45; Cassiodorus, *Exp. Ps.* 86, CCSL, 98, pp. 789–90, lines 40–44; *Inst.*, I, 5. 2, ed. by Mynors, pp. 22–23; Bede, *Quaestio* 18, CCSL, 119, p. 312, lines 52–59; Bede, *De Tabernaculo*, II, CCSL, 119A, pp. 81–82; Bede, *De Templo*, II, CCSL, 119A, pp. 192–93. Despite some scholarly claims that Grandior held only one picture alluding to both the Tabernacle and the Temple, the language of these texts makes clear there were two separate images: Halporn, 'Pandectes, Pandecta', pp. 299–300; Paul Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 827–83 (p. 834 n. 41). I discuss the Amiatinus miniature and its probable relation to Grandior's imagery in a forthcoming article, 'A Sense of Place: Wearmouth-Jarrow, Rome, and the Tabernacle Miniature of the Codex Amiatinus', in *The Transmission of the Bible in Word and Image*, ed. by Mildred Budny and Paul G. Remley (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in association with Research Group on Manuscript Evidence, in preparation).

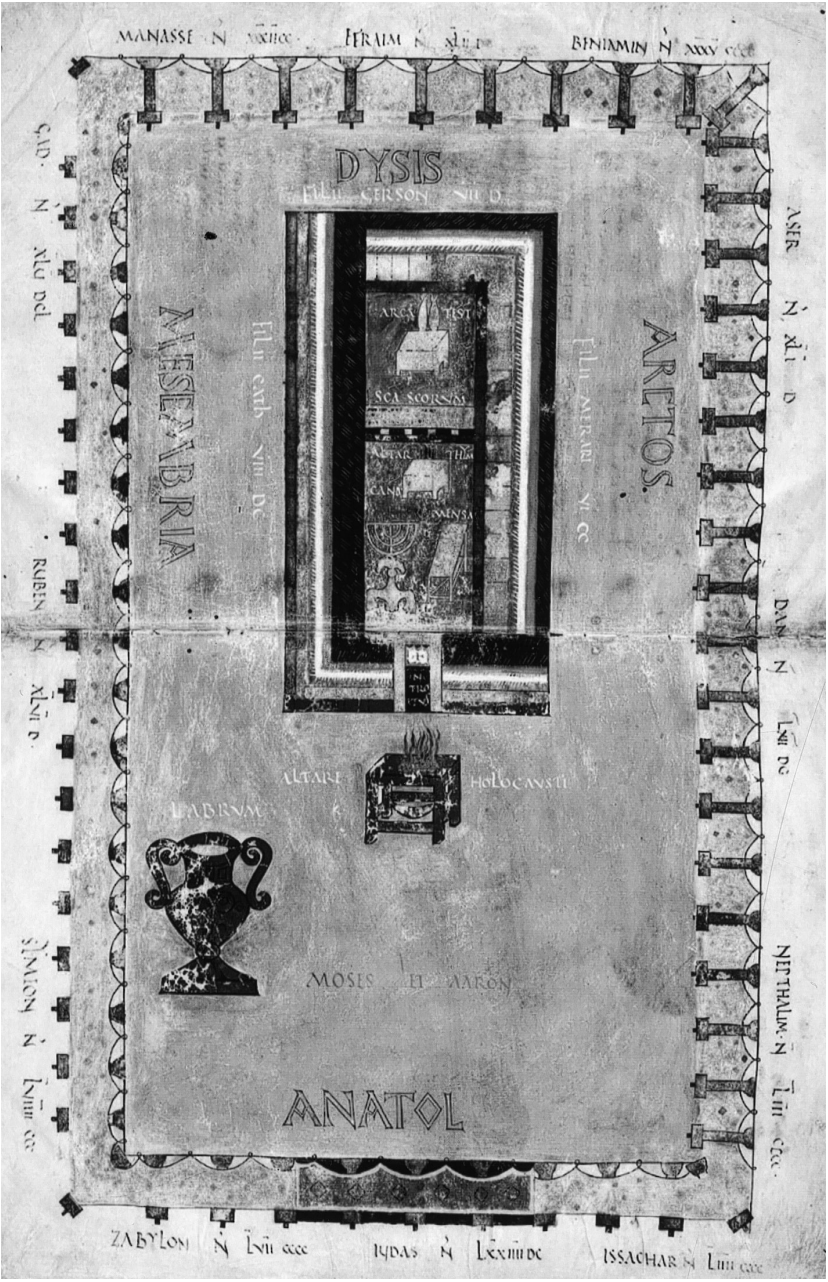


Figure 1. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1, fols 2/II^v–7/III^r, Codex Amiatinus, plan of the Tabernacle.

According to *Institutions* I, chapters 12–14, where the diagrams and their lists were copied from Grandior, these different ‘divisions’ of scripture (*divisio scripturae divinae*) represent the systems for organizing the Bible’s contents described in Augustine’s *De doctrina Christiana* and applied in Jerome’s Vulgate and the ‘Septuagint’; the last term designates the Old Latin translations copied in Grandior.²¹ *Institutions* I, chapter 14 states that the Septuagint diagram was placed in Grandior ‘among the others’ (*inter alias*), possibly an indication it was between the other two charts.²²

Amiatinus’s three charts, with essentially the same lists of biblical books found in *Institutions* I (with minor variations),²³ are part of the opening quire of material prefacing the English Bible’s Old Testament. The quire is no longer in its original order, but the Vulgate diagram probably came first, followed by Augustine’s system and then the Septuagint scheme, though an inscription assigns this third chart instead to Pope Hilarus of Rome and Epiphanius of Cyprus (Figs 2–4).²⁴ Additionally, Amiatinus’s first quire contains a prologue in Cassiodorian language clearly composed for a pandect, which must have been copied from Grandior (Fig. 5). The prologue comments on the three division systems and identifies them with Augustine, Jerome, and the Septuagint, in this order, with no reference to Hilarus or Epiphanius.²⁵ Many scholars have argued that other folios of the

²¹ *Inst.*, I, 12–14, ed. by Mynors, pp. 38–41. See Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, II, 8. 13, ed. by Joseph Martin, CCL, 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), pp. 39–40; Cassiodorus: *Institutions*, pp. 135–39 nn. 146–53.

²² ‘Tertia vero divisio est inter alias in codice grandiore littera clariore conscripto [...]’: *Inst.*, I, 14. 2, ed. by Mynors, p. 40, lines 6–7.

²³ Corsano, ‘First Quire’, p. 23.

²⁴ Fols 5/VI, 8, 6/VII. See Chazelle, ‘Ceolfrid’s Gift’, pp. 133–46, including discussion of the proper order of leaves in Amiatinus’s first quire and their combined arabic and roman numbering.

²⁵ Fol. 3/IV. The prologue text is best quoted in full: ‘Si diuino, ut dignum est, amore flammati ad ueram cupimus sapientiam peruenire et in hac uita fragili aeterni saeculi desideramus imaginem contueri, Patrem luminum (James 1. 17) deprecemur ut nobis cor mundum tribuat, actionem bonae uoluntatis inperiat, perseuerantiam sua uirtute concedat, ut scripturarum diuinarum palatia, ipsius misericordia largiente, possimus fiducialiter introire, ne nobis dicatur: quare tu enarras iustitias meas et adsumis testamentum meum per os tuum (Ps. 49. 16). Sed inuitati illud potius audiamus, uenite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego uos reficiam (Matt. 11. 28). Magnum munus, inestimabile beneficium, audire hominem secreta Dei, et quemadmodum ad ipsum ueniatur institui. Festinemus itaque fratres ad animarum fontem uium, salutaria remedia iussionum. Quisquis enim in terris scripturis talibus occupatur, paene caelestis iam regni suauitate perfruitur.

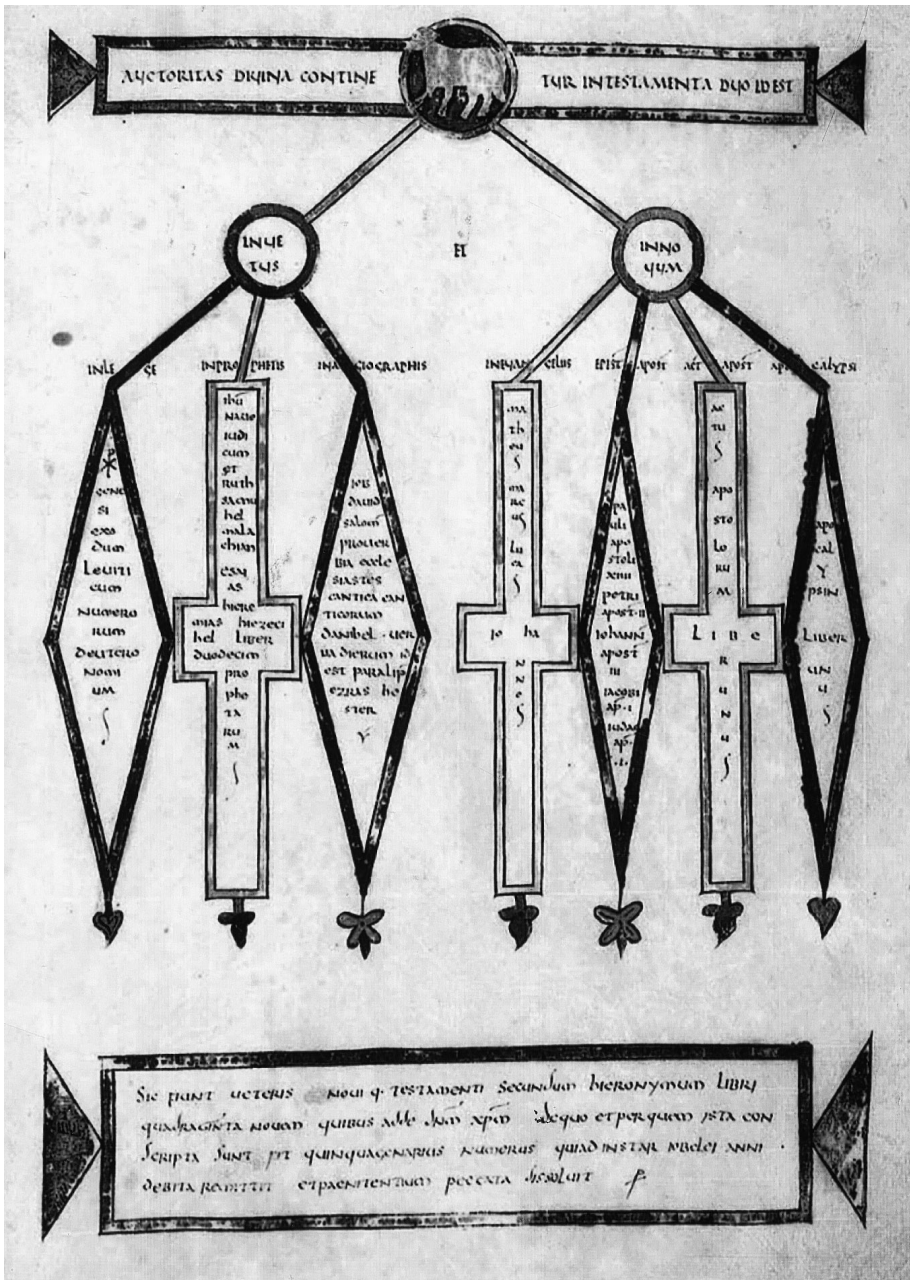
Nec uos moueat quod pater Augustinus in septuaginta unum libros testamentum uetus nouumque diuisit, doctissimus autem Hieronymus idem uetus nouumque testamentum XLVIII

English codex, too, were inspired by Grandior, in particular the famous miniature of the prophet Ezra; this is a view I find plausible. But the prologue, the three biblical charts, and the Tabernacle miniature are the only leaves in Amiatinus for which firm support of a debt to Grandior exists.²⁶

We can gain a partial idea of the original Vivarium design of Cassiodorus's biblical diagrams by comparing the charts of scripture and secular learning in two

sectionibus comprehendit, in hoc autem corpore utrumque testamentum septuagenario numero probatur impletum, in illa palmarum quantitate forsitan praesagatus, quas in mansione helim inuenit populus hebraeorum (Ex. 15. 27); nam licet haec calculo disparia uideantur, doctrina tamen patrum ad instructionem caelestis ecclesiae concorditer uniuersa perducunt': *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem: Librum Genesis ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi*, ed. by Henri Quentin (Rome: Vatican, 1926), pp. xxi–xxii; see Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 866–68. The Amiatinus text has *mundet* in place of *mundum*, but the latter makes better grammatical sense.

²⁶ The Ezra miniature is fol. 4/V', which I discuss most recently in "Romanness" in Early Medieval Culture: The Codex Amiatinus Portrait of Ezra', in *Paradigms and Methods in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. by Celia Chazelle and Felice Lifshitz (New York: Palgrave, forthcoming). Paul Meyvaert has argued that Bede copied Cassiodorus's portrait for Amiatinus, in 'The Date of Bede's *In Ezram* and his Image of Ezra in Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum*, 80 (2005), 1087–1133 (pp. 1107–28). But Meyvaert probably misreads the traces of drypoint on the Amiatinus miniature, which likely reflect an attempt to copy it for another artistic production. Cf. *Cassiodorus: Institutions*, 'Introduction', pp. 7–10; Jennifer O'Reilly, 'The Library of Scripture: Views from Vivarium and Wearmouth-Jarrow', in *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, ed. by Paul Binski and William Noel (Thrupp: Sutton, 2000), pp. 3–39 (esp. pp. 3–5, 15–26). It has been argued that Cassiodorus was unlikely to have commissioned a portrait of himself for one of his manuscripts: Lawrence Nees, 'Problems of Form and Function in Early Medieval Illustrated Bibles from Northwest Europe', in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. by John Williams (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), pp. 121–77 (p. 158); cf. Corsano, 'First Quire', p. 20. So far as I know, however, the possibility has not been considered that the Vivarium monks added a commemorative portrait of their late master to the codex after his death, to prepare it as a gift to Rome. (Grandior seems to have stayed at Vivarium as long as Cassiodorus was alive; he refers to it as still there in the *Divine Institutions* (*Institutions I*) which he revised until the last years of his life in the 580s: *Cassiodorus: Institutions*, 'Introduction', pp. 39–42.) The image might have shown him seated before an armarium holding nine books to commemorate his *nouem codices*. It is also possible it represented him as scribe; the *Divine Institutions* make clear (*Inst.*, I, 3. 1, 26. 1, 30, ed. by Mynors, pp. 18, 67, 75–78) Cassiodorus's belief that this was the most important work of a monk and an activity in which he participated. While this conjecture remains hypothetical, it would help explain the coincidence between the nine volumes in Ezra's cupboard and Vivarium's *nouem codices*, stored in the monastery's armaria; on this see below, at note 77.



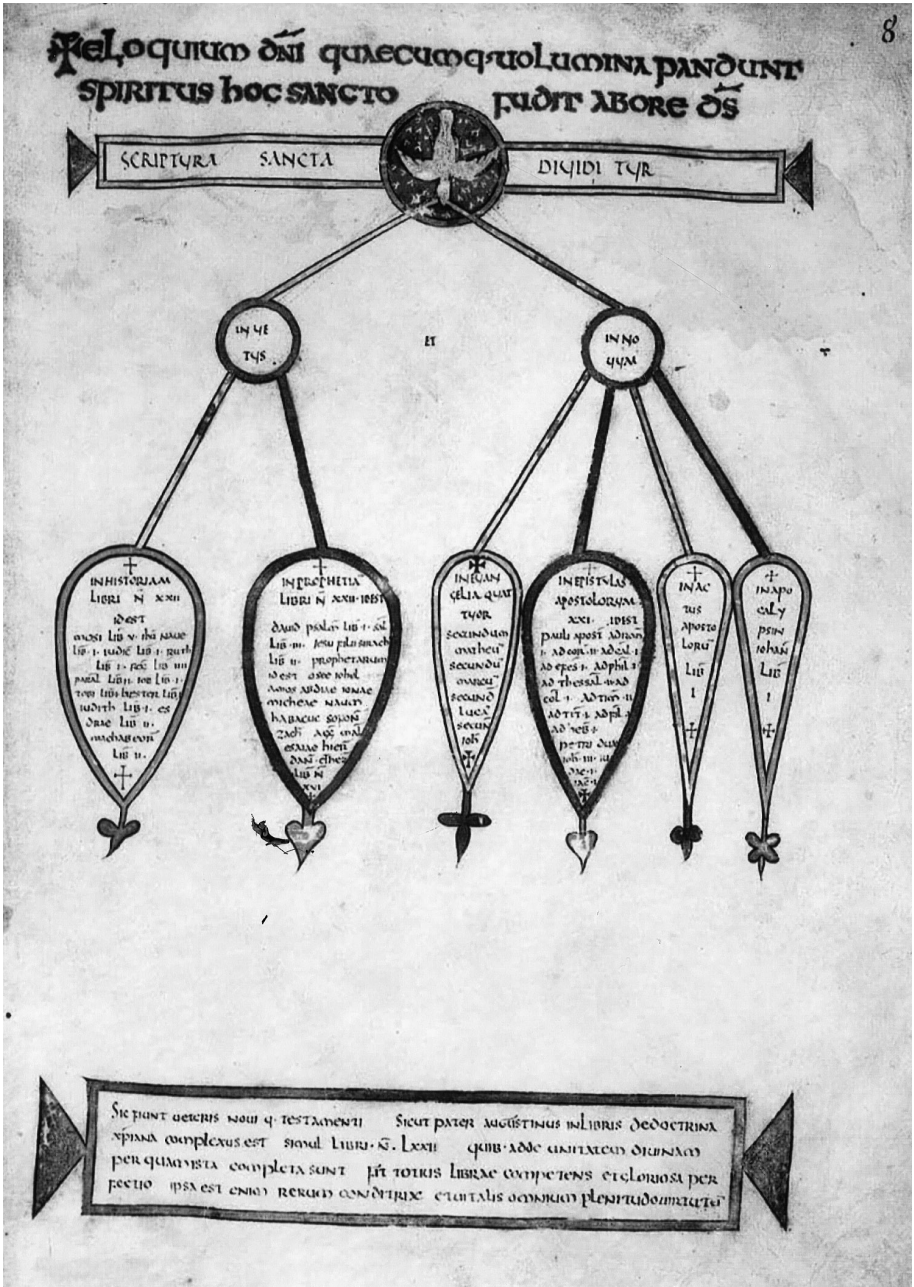


Figure 3. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1, fol. 8', Codex Amiatinus, organization of scripture according to Augustine.

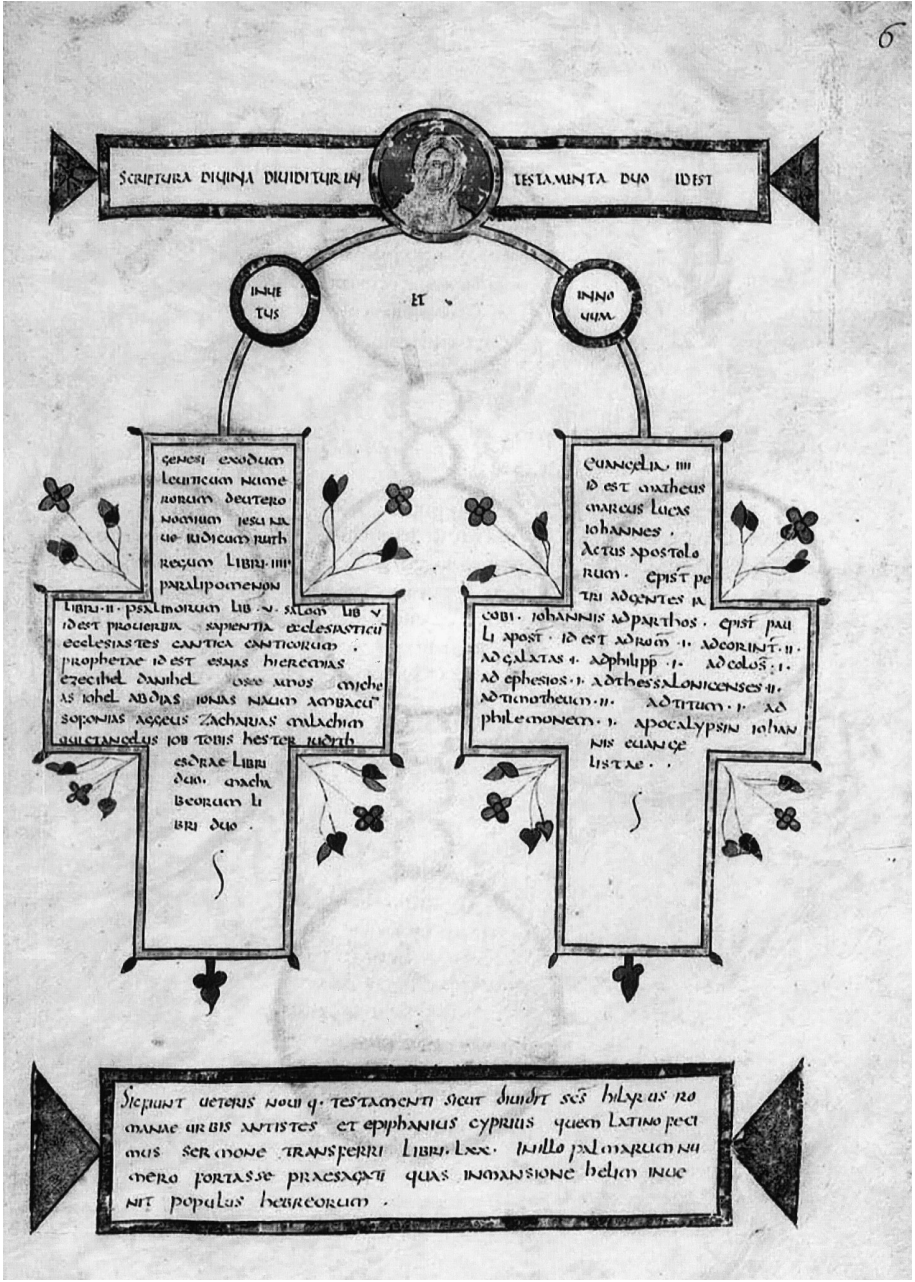


Figure 4. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1, fol. 6/VII^r, Codex Amiatinus, organization of scripture according to Pope Hilarus and Epiphanius.

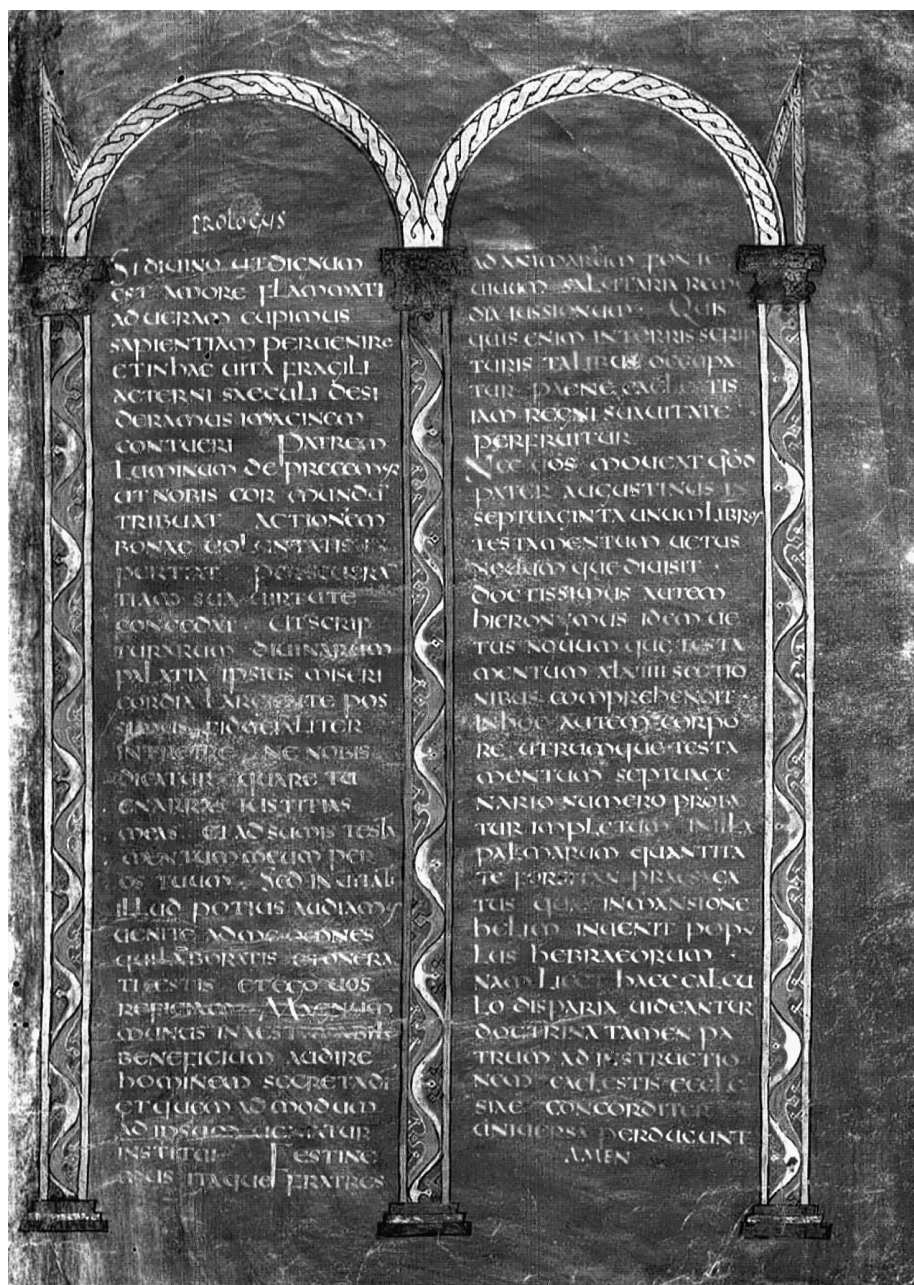


Figure 5. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1, fol. 3/IV^r, Codex Amiatinus, prologue.

early copies of the *Institutiones* with the three schemata in Amiatinus (Figs 2–4, 6–11, Plate 1). The diagrams of secular learning interspersed among the seven chapters of *Institutiones* II, preserved in numerous manuscripts, outline the divisions and subdivisions of the liberal arts.²⁷ The diagram of philosophy, for example, in Book II, chapter 3. 4, presents two descending lists. The one on the left indicates that ‘theoretical’ philosophy divides into natural, mathematical, and divine areas of learning, and that ‘mathematical’ philosophy in turn branches off (at the lowest level of the chart) into arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. The right-hand text shows the division of ‘practical’ philosophy into ethical, economic, and political branches.²⁸

Of greatest interest among the *Institutiones* manuscripts I have examined are Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61 and Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 660, fols 75–142.²⁹ The Bamberg codex, a late eighth-century southern Italian manuscript possibly from Montecassino, is the oldest surviving copy of both books of the treatise and includes all three of the biblical schemata of Book I (Figs 6–8).³⁰ A colophon probably traceable back to Vivarium describes the manuscript as the ‘archetype codex to be used as an exemplar in correcting the others’ (‘codex

²⁷ See Mynors, ‘Introduction’, in *Institutiones*, pp. xxii–xxiv.

²⁸ Reading down on the left: ‘Philosophia dividitur in inspectivam; haec dividitur in naturalem doctrinalem divinam; haec dividitur in arithmetica musicam geometriam astronomiam’. Reading down on the right: ‘et actuale; haec dividitur in morale dispensativam civilem’. This is one of the few of the diagrams given (only in schematic form, without ornamentation) in Mynors’s edition and Halporn’s translation: *Inst.*, II, 3. 4, ed. by Mynors, p. 110; *Cassiodorus: Institutiones*, p. 189.

²⁹ See Mynors, ‘Introduction’, in *Institutiones*, pp. x–xii, xvi–xvii. In addition to the Bamberg and Paris manuscripts, I have consulted microfilms of the following: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 855; London, British Library, MS Harley 2637; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Augiensis CCXLI. I am most grateful to Elizabeth Teviotdale for loaning me her microfilms. See her article ‘The Filiation of the Music Illustrations in a Boethius in Milan and in the Piacenza *Codice magno*’, *Imago Musicae*, 5 (1988), 7–22.

³⁰ Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fols 14^r, 15^r, 15^v. See Guglielmo Cavallo, ‘Aspetti della produzione libraria nell’Italia meridionale longobarda’, in *Libri e lettori nel medioevo: guida storica e critica*, ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1983), pp. 100–29 (p. 109); E. K. Rand, ‘The New Cassiodorus’, *Speculum*, 13 (1938), 433–47 (esp. pp. 435–36); Fabio Troncarelli, ‘“Con la mano del cuore”: L’arte della memoria nei codici di Cassiodoro’, *Quaderni medievali*, 22 (1986), pp. 22–58 (pp. 22–23). Troncarelli mistakenly states (p. 34) that the Bamberg codex lacks the Jerome diagram.

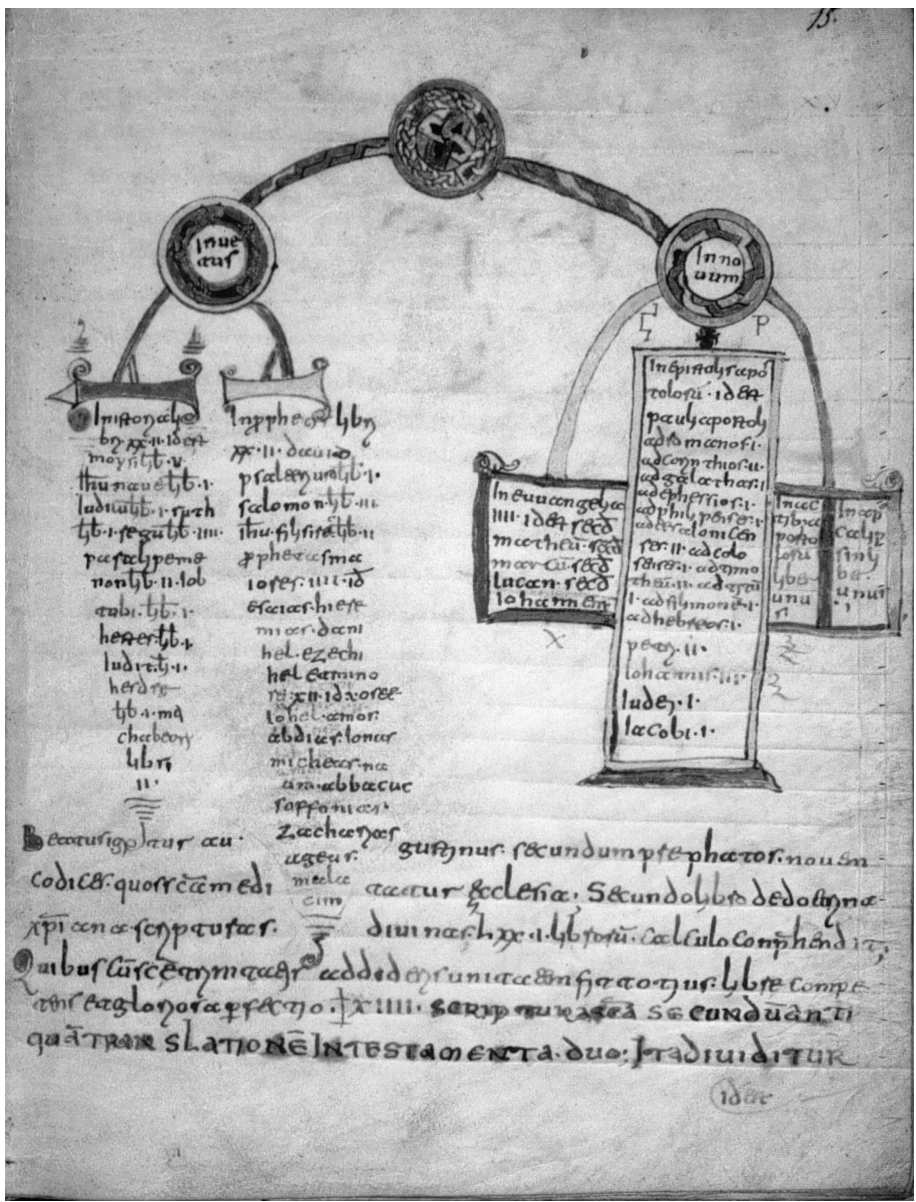


Figure 7. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fol. 15^r, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* I, chapter 13, organization of scripture according to Augustine.

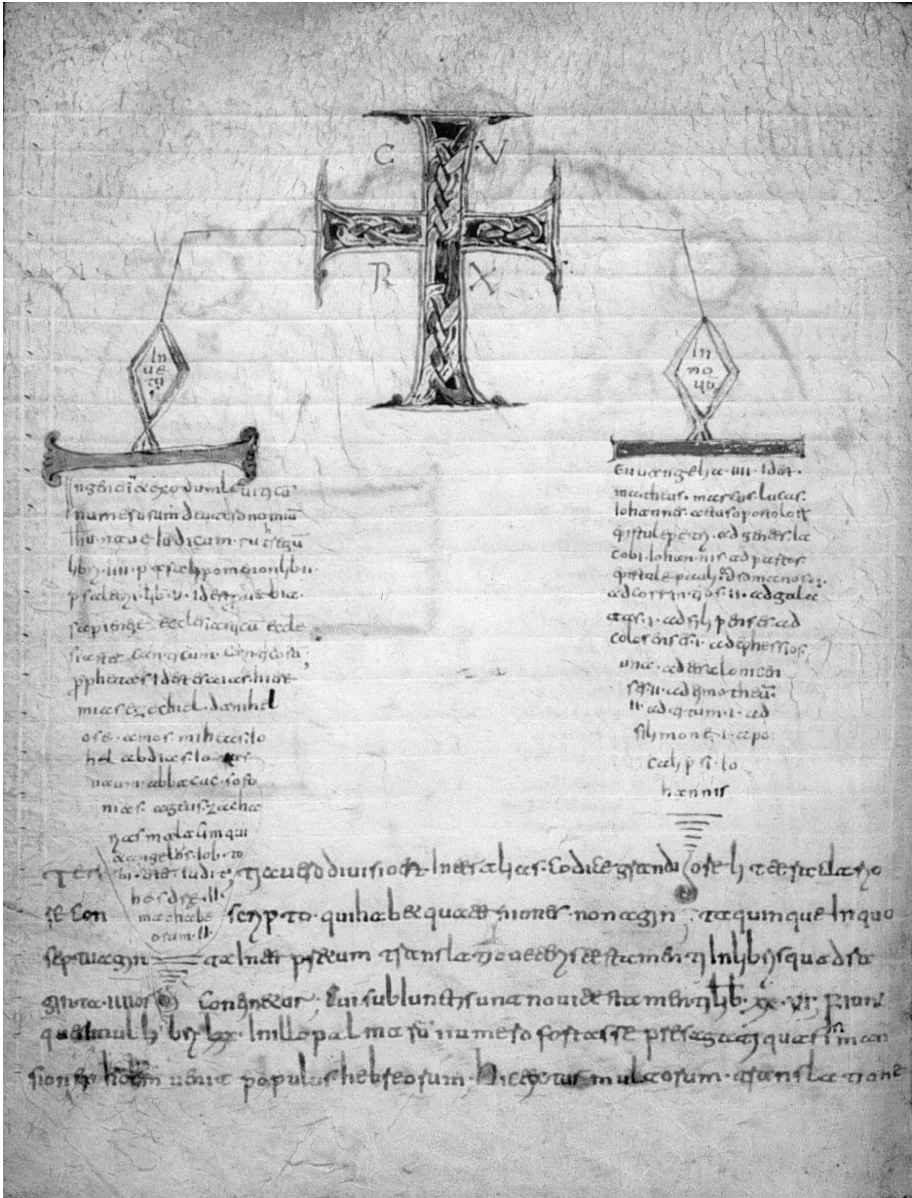


Figure 8. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fol. 15^v, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* I, chapter 14, organization of scripture according to the Septuagint.

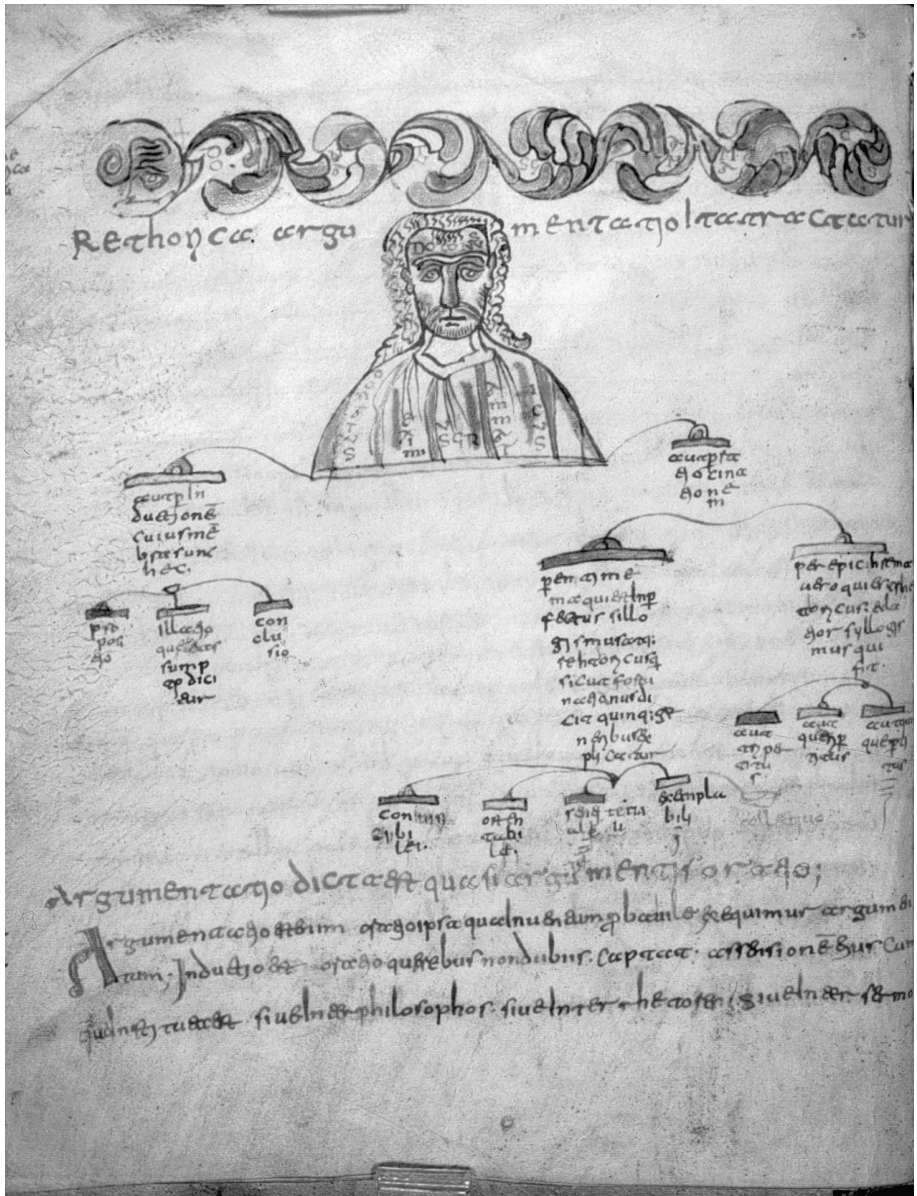


Figure 9. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fol. 41^v, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* II, chapter 2. 11, diagram of rhetoric.

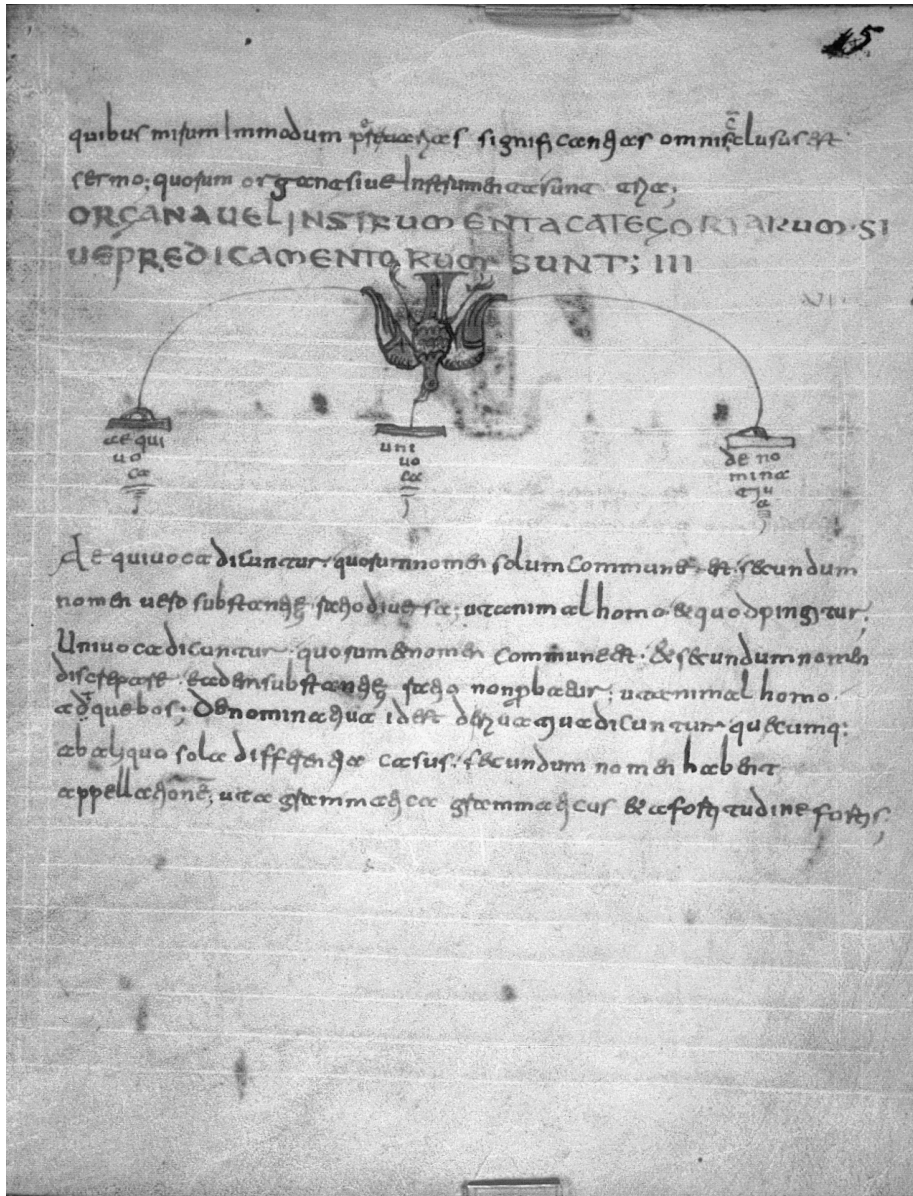


Figure 11. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fol. 45^r, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* II, chapter 3.9, diagram of the *Categories*.

archetypus ad cuius exemplaria sunt reliqui corrigendi').³¹ The Paris manuscript originally formed, with Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1737, fols 38–43, a ninth- or early tenth-century copy probably made at Nonantola in northern Italy. Its text of *Institutiones* I is more correct than that of the Bamberg manuscript, but while it has the Jerome/Vulgate diagram it lacks those of Augustine and the Septuagint.³²

The biblical diagrams in these two codices and the schemata of secular knowledge in the same and other manuscript copies of *Institutiones* II are executed with varying degrees of care. The artist or scribe of the biblical diagram in the Paris manuscript, for example Plate 1, sought to draw the viewer's eye and encourage close study through considerable attention to ornament and colouring; the biblical diagrams of the Bamberg manuscript, while also colourful, are less elaborate. Yet none, so far as I have been able to judge, matches the geometric order and symmetry of the diagrams in Amiatinus. At least to some degree, those characteristics reflect design choices made at Wearmouth-Jarrow in adapting Grandior's charts.³³ Nevertheless, we can reasonably assume that the charts of scripture prepared at Vivarium for Grandior and inserted in *Institutiones* I showed the main features that those of Amiatinus and the Bamberg and Paris manuscripts share in common (see Figs 2–4, 6–8, Plate 1). Lists of biblical books in arrangements attributed to Jerome, Augustine, and the Septuagint (following the chart's association with the Septuagint in the Amiatinus prologue and *Institutiones* I, chapter 14) likely hung down from lines or ribbons below a single ornament, in a manner resembling upside-down trees: seven lists in the Jerome scheme, four of the Old Testament and three of the New Testament; six lists in the Augustine

³¹ Bamberg Patr. 61, fol. 67^v. This text is followed by 'Complexis, quantum ego arbitror, diligenterque tractatis institutionum duobus libris qui breviter divinas et humanas litteras comprehendunt, tempus est ut nunc edificatrices veterum regulas, id est codicem introductorium, legere debemus, qui ad sacras litteras nobiliter ac salubriter introducunt'. See *Inst.*, II, *Conclusio*, ed. by Mynors, p. 163 note. 'Edificatrices veterum regulas' refers back to *Inst.*, I, 10. 1, ed. by Mynors, p. 34. The folio is reproduced in Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, Plate 3.

³² Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 660, fol. 92^r. Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, pp. 30–33; Troncarelli, "Con la mano del cuore", p. 23 and n. 6, see pp. 32–34; Michael Gorman, 'The Diagrams in the Oldest Manuscripts of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*', *Revue Bénédictine*, 110 (2000), 27–41 (esp. pp. 27–29); Bernhard Bischoff, 'Manoscritti nonantolani dispersi dell'epoca carolingia', *La Bibliofilia*, 85 (1983), 99–124 (pp. 116–18).

³³ See Nees, 'Problems of Form and Function', pp. 164–65; and (setting the pages in the wrong order), Carol A. Farr, 'The Shape of Learning at Wearmouth-Jarrow: The Diagram Pages in the Codex Amiatinus', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (Thrupp: Sutton, 1999), pp. 336–44.

scheme, two of the Old Testament and four of the New Testament; and two lists in the Septuagint chart. In Bamberg Patr. 61 the four New Testament lists of the Augustine diagram are set within a cross-frame (Fig. 7), and the lists of the Jerome and the Hilarus/Epiphanius diagrams in Amiatinus are framed by crosses and lozenges (Figs 2, 4); but the other biblical charts in these manuscripts and the one in Paris Mazarine 660 show lists tapering to points (Figs 3, 6, 8, Plate 1). In *Institutions* I, chapter 3, Cassiodorus mentions his liking for notes written in this form and suggests they symbolize bunches of grapes, the 'sweetest fruits' of 'the Lord's vineyard, filled with celestial richness'.³⁴ It is plausible to think that the biblical charts created in his scriptorium had similarly shaped grape-cluster lists, possibly alternating with cross-frames.

An important difference between the biblical schemata in the Bamberg and Paris codices and in Amiatinus is their ornamentation. The English charts are headed by pictures of a lamb, dove, and male bust (Figs 2–4), but the Bamberg Septuagint diagram springs from a large cross (Fig. 8), and the other scripture diagrams in this and the Paris codex descend from abstract motifs (Figs 6, 7, Plate 1).³⁵ As I note in the Appendix, though, in four of the five copies of *Institutions* II that I have been able to study, including Bamberg Patr. 61 and Paris Mazarine 660, the diagrams of rhetoric (*Institutions* II, 2. 11), the *Isagoge* (*Institutions* II, 3. 8), and the *Categories* (*Institutions* II, 3. 9) spring from pictures of a male bust, a lamb, and a dove (see Figs 9–11). The resemblance between this imagery and the decoration of the Amiatinus diagrams strongly suggests that the Northumbrian monks found the inspiration for their motifs in a Vivarium codex; almost certainly this volume was Grandior. Like the charts in Amiatinus, those in Grandior were probably ornamented with a lamb, a male bust, and a dove.

Cassiodorus and the Vision of God

Studies of Amiatinus have generally held that its lamb, dove, and bust motifs constitute an overt 'representation' of the Trinity. The bust is typically described,

³⁴ 'In quo botrionum formulae ex ipsis annotationibus forsitan competenter appositae sunt, quatenus vinea Domini caelesti ubertate completa suavissimos fructus intulisse videatur': *Inst.*, I, 3. 1, ed. by Mynors, p. 18. See *Inst.*, I, 32. 3, ed. by Mynors, p. 80; Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, pp. 76–78 + plates; and Fabio Troncarelli, 'Alpha e acciuga: Immagini simboliche nei codici di Cassiodoro', *Quaderni medievali*, 41 (1996), 6–25 (esp. pp. 21–26).

³⁵ The ribbons below the abstract ornament of the Jerome diagram in Paris Mazarine 660 (fol. 92'), however, end in animal heads.

without further comment, as a 'portrayal' of God the Father, and where Grandior's biblical diagrams are discussed as models, the same meaning is assigned to the bust thought to have been depicted there. Almost never considered is the fundamental question this raises of how the monks at Wearmouth-Jarrow and Vivarium, with their deep concerns about Christological and Trinitarian orthodoxy, reconciled the notion that God is incorporeal and hence inaccessible to the physical sense of sight with a rendering of the Father (pure divinity) in human form.³⁶ As Dorothy Verkerk has remarked, more Trinitarian iconography survives from Italy than other parts of the late antique and early medieval Mediterranean;³⁷ yet we need to be cautious in how we understand the theological meaning of such imagery. The majority of representations of God as a man, whether in Old Testament, New Testament, or non-scriptural scenes, have noticeably Christ-like features. Aside from the creation miniature in the Ashburnham Pentateuch (Paris, BNF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2334, fol. 1^v), in which two male creators were originally painted side by side in four scenes, anthropomorphic images of the Father unambiguously distinguished from the Son are rare or non-existent from this period.³⁸

Although the Amiatinus bust lacks a cruciform halo, the closest extant formal parallels are early Mediterranean portraits of Christ as the Pantocrator;³⁹ the best possibly early parallel for the three Amiatinus motifs together is the scene of the Trinity-Creator separating light from dark in a seventeenth-century drawing of a lost fifth-century fresco from San Paolo fuori le mura, Rome. There we see a clipeus-framed bust, resembling late antique Pantocrator imagery, floating in the sky above the lamb and the dove. But while the San Paolo cycle was produced in

³⁶ See, for example, Corsano, 'First Quire', p. 29; Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', p. 862, noting the discomfort of some nineteenth-century scholars with this reading of the bust motif; and Nees, 'Problems of Form and Function', pp. 165–66. This issue for medieval art is discussed in Herbert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

³⁷ Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, p. 170.

³⁸ Discussed in Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, pp. 62–71 (p. 53 fig. 15). One creator in each pair and an image of the Holy Spirit were subsequently erased, probably because later viewers were concerned about the depiction of two anthropomorphic deities.

³⁹ E.g. on the arch leading into the presbytery of San Vitale, Ravenna: John Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London: Phaidon, 1997), pp. 128–29 and fig. 77. The cruciform halo, seen in this mosaic, was not an invariable attribute of Christ in late antique Mediterranean art. See Chazelle, 'Christ and the Vision of God', pp. 100–01.

the fifth century, it was restored in the thirteenth, and it is uncertain how this affected the 'Trinity's' representation.⁴⁰

I have elsewhere argued that the designer of the Amiatinus 'Trinity' probably meant to remind viewers of God the Father only indirectly, by recalling the doctrine that the Father was and will be beheld through the Son. Partly for this reason, I have suggested, the designer set the male bust after the lamb and the dove (third in the series rather than first or second), as the three biblical diagrams were originally organized, in order to guide the thoughts of Amiatinus's Roman audience towards Christ at his future return and in his final revelation of divinity to the blessed.⁴¹ The interest in the Trinity and the mystical vision so often expressed in Cassiodorus's writings implies that he, and the monks he taught, may have read Grandior's three motifs in a more straightforwardly Trinitarian and less eschatological manner; but otherwise their interpretation was probably analogous. While we do not know which picture accompanied which diagram in Grandior (there is no reason to assume the same pairing as in Amiatinus), they were likely arranged in a logically 'Trinitarian' order, with the bust first in the sequence or between the lamb and the dove.⁴² Yet if asked, Cassiodorus too would no doubt have asserted that the bust's physical features were those of Christ.⁴³

⁴⁰ Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4406, fol. 23^v; Stephan Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom* (Vienna: Schroll-Verlag, 1964), pp. 56–57, Plate 328; Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, pp. 165–70 and fig. 27. See Herbert L. Kessler, 'An Eleventh-Century Ivory Plaque from South Italy and the Cassinese Revival', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 8 (1966), 67–95 (p. 91).

⁴¹ Chazelle, 'Christ and the Vision of God', p. 100. My thinking on this issue has been assisted by the recent article by Herbert L. Kessler, 'Images of Christ and Communication with God', in *Communicare e significare nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di Studio della fondazione centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 52 (Spoleto: Presso la sede della fondazione, 2005), pp. 1099–1136 + plates.

⁴² If the same motifs accompanied the same diagrams as in Amiatinus, the statement in *Inst.*, I, 14. 2 (ed. by Mynors, p. 40) that Grandior's Septuagint diagram was placed *inter alias* may mean the order was lamb, bust, dove. The advice in the Amiatinus/Grandior prologue (above, note 25) that the reader who wishes to contemplate the 'image of eternity' (*aeterni saeculi [...] imaginem*) pray to the 'Father of lights' (*patrem luminum*: James 1. 17) was perhaps written with the Trinitarian significance of the images, especially the bust, in mind. See *Inst.*, I, 12. 2, 13. 2, 28. 3, ed. by Mynors, pp. 37, 39, 70.

⁴³ See O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, pp. 166–72; Reinhard Schlieben, *Cassiodors Psalmenexegese: Eine Analyse ihrer Methoden als Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Geschichte der Bibelauslegung der Kirchenväter und der Verbindung christlicher Theologie mit antiker Schulwissenschaft* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1979), pp. 179–80.

In *De anima*, and in the conclusion written for *Institutions* II when Book I was added, contemplation of the 'face of God' (*facies Dei*) and of God 'as he is in his majesty' (*sicut in maiestate sua est*) is sharply distinguished from any notion that the divine essence can be directly perceived with the bodily senses. The divine vision will only be granted to the cleansed soul, it is declared in *De anima* 15.⁴⁴ In the conclusion of *Institutions* II, the experience is linked to Christ's return. To understand imperfectly now the future manifestation, Cassiodorus states, we must read about Christ in the Book of the Apocalypse and meditate on orthodox doctrine of the Son as well as the entire Trinity, remembering that our desire will be fulfilled when he reappears.⁴⁵ The *Expositio Psalmorum* contains numerous allusions to John 14. 6 and 14. 9–10, stressing the unity between the Father and the Son, by virtue of their shared divinity, and the Son's role to mediate the experience of God.⁴⁶ The *Expositio* of Psalm 81. 1, 'Deus stetit in synagoga deorum; in medio autem deos discernit' ('God hath stood in the congregation of gods; and being in the midst of them he judgeth gods'),⁴⁷ explains that physical characteristics belong exclusively to the Son in his humanity, not the divine nature. The deity who stands is Christ, who also sits at the Father's right hand; neither action can be ascribed to divinity.⁴⁸

For Cassiodorus, only the Son makes the divine perceptible to mortal eyes in human form. In a sense, if Cassiodorus interpreted the Grandior bust as a depiction of Christ and thus indirectly of the Father, he attributed to it a symbolic

⁴⁴ *De anima*, 15, ed. by A. Fontana and R. Favaretto, trans. from the Latin into Italian by G. Carraro and E. D'Agostini (Sotto il Monte: Servitium, 1998), pp. 150–51; also see *De anima*, 5, 16, 18, pp. 62–67, 144–59, 168–75.

⁴⁵ *Institutes*, II, *Conclusio*, ed. by Mynors, pp. 158–63; cf. *Inst.*, I, 9. 2, 16, II, 3. 6, 14, ed. by Mynors, pp. 33, 51–54, 111, 122–23. The last of the liberal arts discussed is fittingly astronomy, Cassiodorus points out in *Inst.*, II, *Conclusio* 1 (ed. by Mynors, p. 158). This arrangement leads to the stars (*ad astra perductus*) so as to turn souls, 'saeculari sapientiae deditos disciplinarum exercitatione defecatos a terrenis rebus abduceret, et in superna fabrica laudabiliter collocaret'.

⁴⁶ John 14. 6: 'Dicit et Iesus: Ego sum via, et veritas, et vita. Nemo venit ad Patrem, nisi per me'; John 14. 9–10: 'Dicit ei Iesus: Tanto tempore vobiscum sum, et non cognovistis me? Philippe, qui videt me, videt et Patrem. Quomodo tu dicis: Ostende nobis Patrem? Non creditis quia ego in Patre, et Pater in me est?' See *Exp. Ps.* 5. 4, 11. 6, 16. 15, 55. 11, 58. 5, 67. 17, CCSL, 97, pp. 64, 119, 149–50, 504, 522, 593; *Exp. Ps.* 76. 14, 109. 3, 116. 2, CCSL, 98, pp. 704, 1009, 1046.

⁴⁷ English translation from the Douay-Rheims Version.

⁴⁸ *Exp. Ps.* 81. 1, CCSL, 98, pp. 757, see 758–61; Schlieben, *Cassiodors Psalmenexegese*, pp. 179–84. Cf. *Exp. Ps.* 58. 1, CCSL, 97, p. 519.

value balancing that of the lamb and the dove. All three pictures showed temporal phenomena, recorded in scripture, that had led faithful people towards knowledge of the invisible God. The portrait of the Son ‘signified’ the divine nature shared with the Father, the lamb symbolized Christ in his separate personhood, and the dove symbolized the Holy Spirit. Understood in this manner, the images conformed well to Chalcedonian doctrine. The male bust recalled the union of two natures in one person. The three motifs together were a reminder that the one Godhead consists of three persons, united but remaining distinct from one another. And that each picture accompanied a chart listing every book in the two Testaments, Cassiodorus may have also thought, underscored the divine persons’ coequality and coeternity. All three persons — Father, Son, and Holy Spirit — were operative under the Old Testament as under the New.

The Vivarium Biblical Diagrams: Unity in Diversity

The foregoing discussion has focussed on what can be known about the physical appearance of Cassiodorus’s scripture diagrams and their art, but a critical issue remains unaddressed: their intended purpose or function. In general terms, Cassiodorus’s interest in diagramming information, a literary technique he perhaps first encountered in Constantinople,⁴⁹ is understandable. A new magisterial study by Bianca Kühnel examines the myriad ways in which early medieval scientific diagrams reflect concerns reaching beyond the organization of human knowledge. Such charts present not only data but visual analyses of biblical and scientific doctrine, symbolically linking the information presented in texts and inscriptions to the divine ordering of the cosmos and its mirror in different parts of creation. Images and symbols of features of the created world and of abstract ideas about God and the universe are linked together by number, size, shape, connecting lines, circles, and other formal devices to evoke their participation in the unity of heavenly wisdom.⁵⁰

Although Kühnel is mainly interested in Carolingian and post-Carolingian diagrams, late antique examples likely occurred in books of the Vivarium library.

⁴⁹ Gorman, ‘Diagrams’, p. 29 and n. 8, citing Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, pp. 67–78. On Cassiodorus’s liking for the diagrammatic organization of information, see O’Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, pp. 119, 144–60, 226–27.

⁵⁰ Bianca Kühnel, *The End of Time in the Order of Things: Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003), pp. 160–221 (esp. pp. 160–62).

Precedents were also available to Cassiodorus and his monks for incorporating lists of canonical scripture into manuals of biblical study: the *Instituta* of Junillus and Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, for instance, are both recommended for the monks' reading in *Institutions* I, chapter 10.⁵¹ But Cassiodorus is unusual for his decision to *diagram* scripture, and moreover to diagram three differing sets of biblical lists which — he implies in the Amiatinus/Grandior prologue (Fig. 5) and the *Institutions* — should be regarded as of comparable validity. Whereas each schema in *Institutions* II presents a different mode of knowledge or skill associated with one of the liberal arts, all three charts of Grandior and *Institutions* I present the contents of the one Bible. The importance of these schemata for him cannot be disputed. They are the only features of Grandior not only described but repeated in the *Institutions*; the only diagrams in any copies of *Institutions* I aside from a plan of the Vivarium monastery;⁵² and the only elements of Grandior apart from its biblical text explicitly mentioned in its prologue.⁵³

The scripture charts of Grandior and *Institutions* I probably responded to a number of concerns at Vivarium. One has to do with their obvious didactic and exegetical value. The diagrams were teaching devices: they offered the monks accessible references to three of the division systems followed in Bibles and mentioned in writings available at the monastery: the Codex Grandior; the Codex Minor, a pandect of Jerome's Vulgate;⁵⁴ Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*; and the *nouem codices*, a volume or set of volumes combining scripture with exegesis.⁵⁵ Second, the three charts visually underlined the Bible's centrality to the educational programme at Vivarium. The sequence would have caught the reader's eye. In *Institutions* I, it provided a measure of formal balance to the liberal arts diagrams of *Institutions* II, and it recalled that scripture is the foundation of both the sacred and the secular wisdom discussed in the other chapters. Third, the diagrams may have spoken to uncertainty at Vivarium concerning the discrepancies in the organization of the monastery's Bibles. One of the issues treated in

⁵¹ Ed. by Mynors, p. 34. See Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, pp. 84–89, 127–41; Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, II, 8. 13, CCSL, 32, pp. 39–40.

⁵² Bamberg Patr. 61, fol. 29^v; *Inst.*, I, 29, ed. by Mynors, pp. 73–75, see 'Introduction', pp. xxii–xxiii.

⁵³ Above, note 25.

⁵⁴ *Inst.*, I, 12. 3, ed. by Mynors, p. 37.

⁵⁵ Compare *Inst.*, I, 1–9, ed. by Mynors, pp. 11–34, where Cassiodorus seems to survey the *nouem codices* but not in order; and *Inst.*, I, 13–14, ed. by Mynors, pp. 38–40. See Cassiodorus: *Institutions*, 'Introduction', pp. 49–51; Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, pp. 130–39.

Institutions I, chapters 12–14 is the mystical significance of the number of books in each chart. Cassiodorus links the Jerome and Augustine diagrams with the sacred numbers of fifty and seventy-two by calling for the addition, to each group of lists, of the ‘unity’ of the Trinity. The Septuagint diagram lists seventy books, a number he deems mystical in its own right.⁵⁶ A message of these chapters, then, also hinted in *Institutions* I, chapter 11 where they are introduced, is that each system is sanctioned by God.⁵⁷ While the number of separate books of scripture differs, nothing of divine law is lacking from any of the three systems; God has blessed them all equally.

Beyond this, though, we need to be aware of the exegetical foundation of Christian theology and thus of the doctrinal conflicts in the late antique Mediterranean. The differing ways in which the Bible could be organized, translated, and interpreted and the vigorous quarrels over the Trinity and Christ were interconnected. Theologians quoted and paraphrased scripture to support their teachings and attack opponents, and they disagreed vehemently over the language of biblical translations, the canon, and the legitimacy of allegorical vs. literal exegesis. In asserting the right to establish matters of doctrine, Emperor Justinian, like the churchmen on both sides of the Three Chapters controversy, presented himself as an exegete as well as a theologian. One consequence is that preferences for certain translations and organizations of scripture, and the promotion in handbooks of certain exegetical methods and authorities, sometimes seem to correspond to variant definitions of orthodoxy.⁵⁸

Along with the other factors I have mentioned, I suspect that Cassiodorus had theological reasons for commissioning not just one but three biblical diagrams and for placing them in both Grandior and *Institutions* I. We will analyze the relevant passages in the Amiatinus/Grandior prologue and *Institutions* I more closely later, but it is helpful to point out here the striking emphasis in both sources on the different systems’ concordance. Not only does each diagram conform to a mystical number. Cassiodorus is adamant that in spite of the differences among their lists,

⁵⁶ *Inst.*, I, 12. 2, 13. 2, 14. 2, ed. by Mynors, pp. 37, 39, 40.

⁵⁷ *Inst.*, I, 11. 3, ed. by Mynors, p. 36: ‘Sed quoniam sacras litteras in novem codicibus cum introductoribus et paene cum omnibus Latinis expositoribus suis, ut datum est, Domino iuvante collegimus, nunc videamus quemammodum lex divina tribus generibus divisionum a diversis Patribus fuerit intimata; quam tamen veneranter et concorditer suscipit universarum Ecclesiarum regionum.’

⁵⁸ Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, pp. 5, 9–10, and summarizing his argument at pp. 111–15.

they, together with the systems proposed by other authorities, harmonize with and clarify one another.⁵⁹

This notion parallels a broader theme that runs in various guises through much of Cassiodorus's exegetical and dogmatic writing, one implicit in other sections of the *Institutions* as well: a pronounced sensitivity, reminiscent of Christian neoplatonic doctrine, to the dialectic between the diversity of creation and the order, unity, and harmony of the spiritual realm.⁶⁰ For Cassiodorus, this truth is affirmed and commemorated when Christians look for the harmony underlying seemingly dissimilar aspects of the divine revelation, yet recognize that diversity remains a divinely sanctioned, divinely mandated attribute of the unified, orderly creation.⁶¹ The ecclesiological dimension of this line of thought is suggested by the repeated reminders in the *Expositio Psalmorum* and the later exegetical treatise, the *Complexiones* that the Church is the 'collection of all faithful saints, one soul and heart',⁶² the one body of Christ gathered from many nations, a single institution with numerous peoples and offices held together by the bond of charity.⁶³ An educational dimension seems to underlie the deliberate juxtaposition of order and harmony to multiplicity in the Vivarium programme and library. A picture emerges from the *Institutions*, especially Book I, of a monastery carefully planned to bring together people and books teaching divergent things yet conforming with one another in devotion to God and scripture. By instructing the monks in varied facets of spiritual and secular knowledge, the library and the institution's visiting scholars aided them to rise towards greater comprehension of unified sacred truth. At the same time, the ties Vivarium worked so hard to foster with other eccle-

⁵⁹ See Cassiodorus: *Institutions*, 'Introduction', pp. 52–53.

⁶⁰ This theme has analogies in Cassiodorus's earlier work, the *Variae*, as Michael S. Bjornlie demonstrates in his PhD dissertation: 'The *Variae* of Cassiodorus Senator and the Circumstances of Political Survival, c. 540–545' (Princeton University, 2006). I am very grateful to Dr. Bjornlie for allowing me to read sections of his excellent study prior to its completion and for clarifying this point with me in e-mail exchanges (Fall 2005). His dissertation makes a very important contribution to scholarship on Cassiodorus and the sixth-century Mediterranean.

⁶¹ See *Inst.*, II, *Conclusio*, 7–9, ed. by Mynors, pp. 161–63; and on Cassiodorus's debt to neoplatonic thought, Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, esp. pp. 7–11.

⁶² 'sed Ecclesia est collectio fidelium sanctorum omnium, anima et cor unum': *Exp. Ps.* 4, CCSL, 97, p. 56, lines 23–28.

⁶³ For example, *Exp. Ps.* 17, CCSL, 97, p. 168, lines 717–18; *Exp. Ps.* 65, CCSL, 97, pp. 571–80; *Exp. Ps.* 81, CCSL, 98, p. 757, lines 11–16; *Exp. Ps.* 103, CCSL, 98, p. 927, lines 145–53; *Complexiones*, PL, 70, cols 1329B, 1336B, 1337B, 1347A, 1347B. See Schlieben, *Cassiodorus Psalmenexegese*, pp. 177–78.

siastical sites (among them ones in Africa and, possibly, the schismatic see of Aquileia), through books sent out from the monastery, rendered it the centre of a larger, more variegated, yet still interconnected spiritual assembly.⁶⁴

Institutions I mentions several times the visitors Vivarium attracted,⁶⁵ but Cassiodorus's main concern is to survey the writings collected for its library and the procedures the monks should follow in studying and copying scripture. The first chapters of the treatise focus on the Bible, available at the monastery in different translations organized according to different schemes; from there, Cassiodorus moves on to other, related topics, progressing through concentric circles composed of texts and fields of knowledge. Scripture, it is thus shown, constitutes the nucleus from which all other Vivarium holdings derive their harmony. As Mark Vessey has observed, referring to *Institutions* I, chapters 1–9, the reader 'is placed at the centre of an expanding textual universe whose core contents are firmly circumscribed and tallied off'.⁶⁶ *Institutions* I, chapter 10 then presents a brief summary of procedures and additional books useful to biblical exegesis; the reader is advised to consult other manuals of instruction besides the *Institutions*, patristic commentaries, and other tractates in which scripture is discussed, and, after exhausting these resources, to seek further help by conversing with his elders. *Institutions* I, chapter 11 praises the decisions of the first four ecumenical synods, especially Chalcedon, as the Church's authoritative definitions of doctrine;⁶⁷ *Institutions* I, chapters 12–14, positioned at the midpoint of Book I, present the

⁶⁴ This conception of the monastery is also suggested by Cassiodorus's assertion that Nisibis and Alexandria inspired the school he and Pope Agapetus wanted to establish in Rome and the writing of the *Institutions*, and thus, indirectly, Vivarium. Whether or not this was in fact true, within the framework of the *Institutions* the statement serves a valuable rhetorical function; for it links both Vivarium and the treatise — the blueprint of the monastery's educational system — with both Rome and two eastern Mediterranean sites representative of distinctive exegetical approaches, ones, indeed (perhaps significantly), associated with opposing camps in the Three Chapters controversy: *Inst., Praefatio*, 1, ed. by Mynors, pp. 3–4. On Cassiodorus and Nisibis, Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, p. 33; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, 'Cassiodorus and the School of Nisibis', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 39 (1985), 135–37. On the function of the Vivarium manuscripts to strengthen ties with other centres, see Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', pp. 162, 167–74; *Inst.*, I, 30. 1, ed. by Mynors, pp. 75–76. This accords with Catherine Conybeare's important observation that, in the ancient world, the sending of letters was a sacramental activity that reinforced the spiritual bonds between distant individuals and locales: *Paulinus Noster: Self and Symbols in the Letters of Paulinus of Nola* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 54–59.

⁶⁵ *Inst.*, I, 5. 2, 28. 7, 29. 1, ed. by Mynors, pp. 22–23, 72–73.

⁶⁶ *Cassiodorus: Institutions*, 'Introduction', p. 68; *Inst.*, I, 1–9, ed. by Mynors, pp. 11–34.

⁶⁷ *Inst.*, I, 10–11, ed. by Mynors, pp. 34–36.

three division systems.⁶⁸ Subsequent chapters of *Institutions* I recommend other methods and more writings useful in the correction of scriptural manuscripts, and then still other authorities and literature that can increase understanding of the Bible: histories of Old Testament events (the works of Josephus) and the church;⁶⁹ theologians and treatises that clarify scripture's meaning; geographies that describe biblical sites; and writings for monks who cannot handle the tracts on the liberal arts noted in Book II, also useful to biblical studies since secular learning, Cassiodorus affirms, has its roots in scripture.⁷⁰ The last chapters of *Institutions* I, before a final prayer, focus chiefly on practical matters in the running of the monastery and its scriptorium.⁷¹

Particularly in *Institutions* I, there is a notable emphasis on inclusiveness and completeness — on the value of consulting many texts with a variety of information that, despite its diversity, may directly or indirectly assist interpretation of scripture and the preparation of its copies.⁷² While Cassiodorus makes clear that all Christian learning must fall within the boundaries of orthodoxy, the monks are encouraged to explore an impressive range of non-biblical literature, to the point that some recommended works and theologians are ones his contemporaries judged to be heterodox.⁷³ The risk posed by problematic sources appears less of a worry than that the monastery might fail to possess something worthwhile; all the material gathered there aids the quest for knowledge of heaven. The blind Eusebius who came from the east was guilty of Novatianism, Cassiodorus acknowledges, but he usefully taught the layout of the Tabernacle and the Temple and provided information about ancient books unknown at Vivarium.⁷⁴ Many scholars have attacked Origen for heresy, Cassiodorus recalls, including Pope Vigilius, yet while the 'poisons' (*venena*) of Origen's thought should be repudiated, his writings should be preserved for the orthodox teachings they contain. The truth must be sifted out from the errors, a process compared to the boiling down of

⁶⁸ *Inst.*, I, 12–14, ed. by Mynors, pp. 36–41.

⁶⁹ *Inst.*, I, 15, 17, ed. by Mynors, pp. 41–51, 55–57.

⁷⁰ *Inst.*, I, 28, ed. by Mynors, pp. 69–72. See *Inst.*, I, *Praefatio*, 6, 4.2, ed. by Mynors, pp. 6, 21; *Exp. Ps.*, *Praefatio*, 15, CCSL, 97, pp. 19–20; *Exp. Ps.* 150.5–6, CCSL, 98, p. 1329, lines 148–51.

⁷¹ *Inst.*, I, 29–32, ed. by Mynors, pp. 73–82.

⁷² See Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, pp. 33–38.

⁷³ See *Inst.*, I, 8.1, 4, 9.3, ed. Mynors, pp. 28–29, 33; Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', pp. 165–66.

⁷⁴ *Inst.*, I, 5.2, ed. by Mynors, pp. 22–23.

anise to extract the juice and the search for gold in a dung-heap.⁷⁵ Cassian's *Institutes* should also be read, despite his errors on the doctrine of free will.⁷⁶

In an analogous fashion, the physical structure of the Vivarium library and its volumes, as also noted in *Institutions* I, meant divergent sources were combined in ways that underscored their concordance. The reader learns that different codices were stored together in armaria;⁷⁷ that collections of individual texts were copied, such as the *Codex Encyclius* of Chalcedon, in a Latin translation by Cassiodorus's associate Epiphanius;⁷⁸ and — repeatedly — that manuscripts were prepared in which different texts by different authors were bound in new compilations.⁷⁹ The availability of 'collections' of scripture is especially emphasized. In addition to the *nouem codices*, the monastery owned at least three pandects: two in Latin, the Vulgate Codex Minor and the Old Latin translation of the Codex Grandior, and another in Greek.⁸⁰ It should be noted that the pandect was an uncommon and difficult format for early medieval Bible production, and not necessarily the most practical for a centre in which numerous scholars engaged in scriptural studies at the same time.⁸¹ Whatever his other reasons for commissioning such volumes, they were likely attractive to Cassiodorus because they so well symbolized scripture's harmony — many books in two Testaments, teaching the one law of God. The organization of the *Institutions* themselves, too, seems at least partly envisaged to draw attention to the unification of different branches of learning, in both the Bible and the monastic library. The preface that Cassiodorus wrote for *Institutions* II when he added *Institutions* I assigns a mystical meaning to the number of chapters in each book; the thirty-three chapters of *Institutions* I recall the span of Christ's life, the seven chapters of *Institutions* II signify the cycle of weeks until the eschaton.⁸² Although he does not state this, he

⁷⁵ *Inst.*, I, 1. 8–9, ed. by Mynors, pp. 14–15.

⁷⁶ *Inst.*, I, 29. 2, ed. by Mynors, p. 74; cf. *Complexiones*, PL, 70, col. 1382A on Tyconius.

⁷⁷ *Inst.*, I, 8. 15, 14. 4, ed. by Mynors, pp. 32, 41. See Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, pp. 27–29.

⁷⁸ *Inst.*, I, 11. 2, 23. 1, 4, ed. by Mynors, pp. 36, 61–62, 64; cf. *Inst.*, I, 5. 4, ed. by Mynors, p. 24.

⁷⁹ *Inst.*, I, 2. 1–2, 12. 5. 4, 6. 5, 7. 1, 17. 1, 2, 30. 2, 3, ed. by Mynors, pp. 16, 18, 24, 27–28, 56–57, 76–77. See *Inst.*, I, *Praefatio*, 8, ed. by Mynors, p. 8; Troncaralli, *Vivarium*, p. 101.

⁸⁰ *Inst.*, I, 5. 2, 12. 3, 14. 2, 4, ed. by Mynors, pp. 23, 37, 40–41.

⁸¹ See Halporn, 'Pandectes, Pandecta', p. 297; Nees, 'Problems of Form and Function', p. 122.

⁸² *Inst.*, II, *Praefatio*, 1–2, ed. by Mynors, p. 89. See Cassiodorus: *Institutions*, 'Introduction', pp. 39–42.

and his monks may have observed that these numbers together represent the period from the incarnation to the last day, the era, that is, of the Church. As mentioned earlier, the eschaton is also a theme of the new conclusion written for the two-book treatise.⁸³ Like the Bible, the *Institutions* begins with Genesis, the first subject of Book I, chapter 1, and ends (in a sense) with the Apocalypse.

In order to show how the biblical diagrams imply similar ideas, it is important to take into account the language Cassiodorus employs to refer to them, both his allusions to the juxtaposition of harmony and unity to diversity and the manner in which he draws the Trinity into the discussion. *Institutions* I, chapter 12, on the Jerome scheme, recalls that the church father produced a single correct Latin text (the Vulgate) from the translations of 'diverse men' (*diversorum translationes*), a new translation 'consonant' (*consonare*) with the Hebrew original. The Old Testament books were arranged to conform to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet and then 'collected' (*colliguntur*) with the twenty-seven books of the New Testament to make forty-nine. The addition of the 'omnipotent and indivisible Trinity' (*omnipotentem et indivisibilem Trinitatem*) produces the sacred number fifty.⁸⁴ *Institutions* I, chapter 13, on the canon outlined in *De doctrina Christiana*, declares that Augustine 'assembled' (*comprehendit*) the divine scriptures in seventy-one books. When the 'unity of the holy Trinity' (*sanctae Trinitatis [...] unitatem*) is added, the result is a 'glorious and appropriate perfection'.⁸⁵ *Institutions* I, chapter 14 describes how the forty-four books in Jerome's revised Old Latin translation of the Old Testament 'are joined' (*subiuncti sunt*) with twenty-six books of the New Testament, making seventy, the number of palms at Elim (Ex. 15. 27).⁸⁶

⁸³ *Inst.*, II, *Conclusio* 4, ed. by Mynors, pp. 159–60.

⁸⁴ 'Sciendum est plane sanctum Hieronymum ideo diversorum translationes legisse atque correxisse, eo quod auctoritati Hebraicae nequaquam eas perspiceret consonare. Unde factum est ut omnes libros veteris Testamenti diligenti cura in Latinum sermonem de Hebreo fonte transfunderet, et ad viginti duarum litterarum modum qui apud Hebreos manet competenter adduceret, per quas omnis sapientia discitur et memoria dictorum in aevum scripta servatur. Huic etiam adiecti sunt novi Testamenti libri viginti septem; qui colliguntur simul quadraginta novem. Cui numero adde omnipotentem et indivisibilem Trinitatem, per quam haec facta et propter quam ista praedicta sunt, et quinquagenarius numerus indubitanter efficitur, quia ad instar iubelei anni magna pietate beneficii debita relaxat et pure paenitentium peccata dissolvit': *Inst.*, I, 12. 2, ed. by Mynors, p. 37.

⁸⁵ 'Beatus igitur Augustinus secundum praefatos novem codices, quos sancta meditatur Ecclesia, secundo libro de Doctrina Christiana Scripturas divinas LXXI librorum calculo comprehendit; quibus cum sanctae Trinitatis addideris unitatem, fit totius librae competens et gloriosa perfectio': *Inst.*, I, 13. 2, ed. by Mynors, p. 39.

⁸⁶ 'Tertia vero divisio est inter alias in codice grandiore littera clariore conscripto, qui habet

The subsequent explanation in *Institutions* I, chapter 14 of why three biblical diagrams were prepared rather than only one also fits with this theme:

This text [the pre-Jerome Old Latin], which varied in the translation of many, was left emended and arranged by the diligent care of Father Jerome, as is indicated in the prologue of the Psalter. We decided that all three kinds of divisions should be affixed there [in Grandior], so that when carefully inspected and considered they would be seen not to conflict but rather to expound one another. Whence granted that many fathers, that is St Hilary, Bishop of the city of Poitiers, and Rufinus, priest of Aquileia, and Epiphanius, Bishop of Cyprus, and the synods of Nicea and Chalcedon, have said not contrary but diverse things, nevertheless all have adapted the divine books, through their divisions, to the appropriate sacred mysteries, just as is also shown to happen in the harmony of the Gospels, where surely everything reflects one faith and yet the manner in which things are told differs.⁸⁷

The three charts, each displaying a single, divinely sanctioned method of dividing and organizing scripture, demonstrate the complementarity of their systems and, it is implied, of those by the other authorities cited; a similar text beneath Grandior's Septuagint diagram probably inspired the Wearmouth-Jarrow monks to assign the chart in Amiatinus to Pope Hilarus and Epiphanius.⁸⁸ Every scheme in Grandior, Cassiodorus indicates, was to be examined both for its own lists and as exegesis of the other two. Like the patristic exegesis included in the *nouem codices*, which clarified the meaning of each section of the Bible, and like the 'harmony of the Gospels, where surely everything reflects one faith and yet the manner in which things are told differs', the diagrams together offered extensions of the insights they individually presented. Attention to their harmony, while

quaterniones nonaginta quinque, in quo septuaginta interpretum translatio veteris Testamenti in libris quadraginta quattuor continetur; cui subiuncti novi Testamenti libri viginti sex, fiuntque simul libri septuaginta, in illo palmarum numero fortasse praesagati, quas in mansione Helim invenit populus Hebreorum': *Inst.*, I, 14. 2, ed. by Mynors, p. 40.

⁸⁷ 'Hic textus multorum translatione variatus, sicut in prologo Psalterii positum est, patris Hieronymi diligenti cura emendatus compositusque relictus est, ubi nos omnia tria genera divisionum iudicavimus affigenda, ut inspecta diligenter atque tractata non impugnare sed invicem se potius exponere videantur. Unde licet multi Patres, id est sanctus Hilarius, Pictaviensis urbis antistes, et Rufinus presbyter Aquileiensis et Epiphanius episcopus Cypri et synodus Nicaena [et] Chalcedonensis non contraria dixerint sed diversa, omnes tamen per divisiones suas libros divinos sacramentis competentibus aptaverunt, sicut et in evangelistarum concordia probatur effectum, ubi una quidem fides est rerum et ratio diversa sermonum': *Inst.*, I, 14. 3, ed. by Mynors, p. 40. The theme of the harmony of the Gospels is also heard earlier in reference to the Eusebian tables: *Inst.*, I, 7. 2, ed. by Mynors, p. 28.

⁸⁸ Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 841–44.

recognizing the differences between them, sheds new light on divine law beyond that attainable when one chart is contemplated alone.

As should be evident from Plate 1, some of the artists or scribes who copied the Vivarium diagrams showed their awareness of the importance of the visual display by giving careful thought to colouring and decoration. Both the three biblical diagrams with the explanation of them just quoted from the *Institutions*, and the schemata of the liberal arts made for *Institutions* II, suggest that Cassiodorus's objectives resembled those behind the scientific diagrams studied by Kühnel.⁸⁹ The charts indicate that different branches of learning are interconnected; and they implicitly link the human knowledge they record with divine order. The parts of each scheme converge, revealing how multiplicity emanates from unity, much as the volumes in the Vivarium armaria and the individual writings bound in codices were separate works articulating different concepts, yet harmonious in their utility to biblical studies. Similarly, the three charts of *Institutions* I and Grandior attested both the union of multiple books in each copy of the Bible and the concordance of its different division systems. The grape-cluster shape of some of the lists, perhaps interspersed with crosses, may have been interpreted as a reminder that no matter how scripture is divided into books and sections, these are sacred fruit of the same celestial vineyard. In view of Cassiodorus's fascination with number symbolism, it is reasonable to think that he encouraged his monks to find spiritual value not only in the number of biblical books listed in each diagram but also in the number of lists, again evidence of the systems' harmony: seven in the Jerome chart (four Old Testament lists and three of the New Testament), six in the Augustine diagram (two Old Testament and four New Testament), and two in the Septuagint diagram. The Christian significance of these numbers, as of the nine parts of the *nouem codices* (3 X 3), would have been well known at Vivarium. The images commemorating orthodox Trinitarian doctrine that probably ornamented at least the Grandior biblical diagrams, if not those in some Vivarium copies of *Institutions* I (see Appendix), also pointed to God's blessing of each scheme. The unity of divine law in many biblical books and the concordance of the varied systems for organizing scripture paralleled the multiplicity yet unity of the three persons of the Godhead.

Other known aspects of Grandior, too, seem at least partly meant to teach that divergent texts and expressions of knowledge agree where they mirror supernal truth. One is simply the fact that Grandior was a pandect, all scripture bound in

⁸⁹ Kühnel, *End of Time*.

a single codex. Another is a refrain of the Amiatinus/Grandior prologue (Fig. 5): the harmony of the distinct paths to spiritual insight represented by the three biblical diagrams.⁹⁰ The plans of the Tabernacle and the Temple were perhaps also associated with this doctrine (Fig. 1). In remembering the two pictures in his *Exposition* of Psalm 86 and *Institutions* I, chapter 5, Cassiodorus notes that the Tabernacle was the 'image' of the Temple (*imago primitus fuit*) and both were formed 'like heaven' (*ad instar caeli*).⁹¹ Although the pictures showed separate structures erected at different times and in different places, the earlier structure foreshadowed the later one and both were earthly reflections of paradise.

Cassiodorus and the Three Chapters Controversy: Further Reflections

How might the biblical diagrams and other features of Grandior just discussed help us understand Cassiodorus's approach to the quarrel over the Three Chapters? Insofar as he was or became antipathetic towards the Chapters' condemnation, it is legitimate to speculate, a fundamental reason was the schism it caused.⁹² Justinian's division of acceptable from unacceptable writings and theologians within the decisions of Chalcedon had provoked parallel divisions within the Church. In contrast, Grandior, the *Institutions*, and their schemata leave no doubt about Cassiodorus's interest in unity, scholarly and spiritual as much as ecclesiastical. For him, achievement of this ideal required that every Christian accept the underlying harmony of even seemingly discordant elements of creation and the fullness of divine revelation in all its rich diversity. Even heterodox material like the writings of Origen may present something of unified heavenly wisdom. Chalcedon, a divinely blessed, conciliar expression of unity, had itself embraced these principles in allowing the authors and writings that Justinian later condemned. The assembly at Vivarium of diverse scholars and texts meant that it accorded with the same principles. Like Chalcedon, therefore, the monastic community harmonized with the very structure of scripture, God's law set forth in multiple books that can be divided and arranged in different yet complementary ways; with the ideal of a unified Church composed of many nations; and on a still higher plane, with the Trinity's union of three persons in one Godhead and Christ's

⁹⁰ See above, note 25.

⁹¹ *Exp. Ps.* 86, CCSL, 98, pp. 789–90, lines 40–44; *Inst.*, I, 5.2, ed. by Mynors, p. 23.

⁹² See Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', p. 162, quoting *Exp. Ps.* 132, CCSL, 98, p. 1205, lines 3–11.

union of two natures in one person. Justinian had excised material from the sphere of orthodoxy, with schism the result.⁹³ Against this, Cassiodorus may well have believed, his own monastery's gathering in of writings and visitors, and the ties strengthened with other centres through manuscripts sent from its scriptorium, conformed to an altogether different — far more clearly 'Chalcedonian' — vision of ecclesiastical and spiritual inclusiveness.

Disagreements over lists of scripture were widespread in antiquity, but Cassiodorus was quite possibly aware that this was a particular point of contention in the Three Chapters controversy. The treatise against Nestorianism and Eutychianism by Leontius of Byzantium, who died in Constantinople in the early 540s when Cassiodorus may have been in the city, accuses Theodore of Mopsuestia of removing texts and portions of texts from the biblical canon.⁹⁴ The charges touch on Theodore's supposed failure to attend to the sanctity of number (of books and verses) in the scripture he mishandled.⁹⁵ Yet whether or not Leontius's attacks were discussed at Vivarium, the passage from *Institutions* I, chapter 14 quoted above, in which Cassiodorus explains his decision to include the three diagrams in Grandior, may offer a clue — albeit extremely slim — that they were thought to respond to tensions stirred by the conflict. As Karen Corsano has observed, many scripture lists and methods of organizing scripture are known from the early Church, among them (but by no means limited to) those set out in Grandior's three charts and ones proposed by Hilary of Poitiers, Rufinus of Aquileia, and Epiphanius of Cyprus, though such lists do not appear in the decisions of Nicea and Chalcedon.⁹⁶ Why, in this passage, does Cassiodorus point to these three theologians rather than others, and these two synods, as exemplary of authorities who 'said not contrary but diverse things' and who 'adapted the divine books, through their divisions, to the appropriate sacred mysteries'?

⁹³ Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, pp. 42–53.

⁹⁴ Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, pp. 87–88; Maurice F. Wiles, 'Theodore of Mopsuestia as Representative of the Antiochene School', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 1: *From the Beginnings to Jerome*, ed. by P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 489–510 (pp. 494–97).

⁹⁵ Leontius, *Libri tres contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos*, PG, 86, cols 1267–1396 (cols 1365–68).

⁹⁶ Corsano, 'First Quire', pp. 22, 27, citing Donatien De Bruyne, 'Cassiodor et l'Amiatinus', *Revue Bénédictine*, 39 (1927), 261–66 (p. 262). Both scholars show confusion in interpreting the Amiatinus diagrams and their relation to Grandior and the *Institutions*. Cf. Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 841–44.

While he may have associated Nicea and Chalcedon with lists unknown to us, it is curious that the churchmen and councils named can all be directly or indirectly connected with attributes of the quarrel. The reference to Nicea and Chalcedon lends a conciliar foundation to Cassiodorus's doctrine that divergent systems of ordering the Bible are sanctioned by God, but it also recalls the insistence of the Three Chapters' defenders that Chalcedon remained in line with Nicene orthodoxy. The decisions of the Fourth Council should not be altered, since it taught the same faith as had the First.⁹⁷ For the defenders of Theodore and the writings of Theodoret and Ibas, Nicea and Chalcedon marked the start and end of the series thus far of ecumenical synods; conceivably it is significant that, like *Institutions* I, chapter 11, *Institutions* I, chapter 14 does not refer to the Fifth Council of 553.⁹⁸ As for the three theologians mentioned, Hilary, also remembered elsewhere in the *Institutions*, was important to the defence of the Three Chapters as a model of resistance to imperial support of heresy, and Barnish has suggested that references to his writings in the *Expositio Psalmorum* indicate Cassiodorus's openness to that viewpoint.⁹⁹ Rufinus's translation and continuation of Eusebius's Church history is cited in *Institutions* I, chapter 17 directly before the histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret compiled in the *Historia tripartita*;¹⁰⁰ and it was quite possibly of interest at Vivarium that he was from Aquileia, a centre of schism to which the monastery may have sent manuscripts.¹⁰¹ Epiphanius is recalled in other passages of the *Institutions* for his biblical scholarship and writing against heresy, including Origen's teachings.¹⁰² At Vivarium, his name would have also brought to mind the monastery's own Epiphanius, who translated the Chalcedonian *Codex Encyclius* and the writings of Epiphanius of Cyprus and prepared the *Historia tripartita*.¹⁰³

⁹⁷ See Richard Price, 'The Three Chapters Controversy and the Council of Chalcedon', in this volume.

⁹⁸ *Inst.*, I, 11, ed. by Mynors, pp. 35–36; also see *Inst.*, I, 23. 4, ed. by Mynors, p. 64.

⁹⁹ *Inst.*, I, 4. 1, 6. 3, 7. 1, 16. 3, 18, 28. 4, ed. by Mynors, pp. 20, 26, 28, 53, 58, 70; see Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', pp. 161–62, 164.

¹⁰⁰ Ed. by Mynors, pp. 55–56; also see *Inst.*, I, 5. 4, 8. 12, ed. by Mynors, pp. 24, 31.

¹⁰¹ Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', p. 169; Leslie W. Jones, 'The Influence of Cassiodorus on Mediaeval Culture', *Speculum*, 20 (1945), 433–42 (p. 440).

¹⁰² *Inst.*, I, 1. 8, 5. 4, 22, ed. by Mynors, pp. 14, 24, 61.

¹⁰³ *Inst.*, I, 5. 2, 4, 8. 6, 11. 2, 17. 1, ed. by Mynors, pp. 22, 24, 29–30, 36, 56. Cassiodorus clearly appreciated the play on their names.

To summarize, the passage from *Institutions* I, chapter 14 may have encouraged the Vivarium reader to link, in his thoughts, the concordance of the different methods of reading the Bible reflected in the three diagrams with an orthodoxy encompassing acceptance of the Three Chapters. The imperial rejection of the Chapters, the challenge this seemed to present to the faith of Chalcedon, and the divisions thus provoked in the Church — division rather than concordance — were wrong. This hypothesis in turn invites us to consider further why, of all the systems for arranging scripture familiar to him, Cassiodorus chose to diagram those he identified with Jerome's Vulgate, Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, and Jerome's revised Old Latin translation of the Septuagint. One factor was surely his admiration of Augustine and Jerome and the importance of both in the Vivarium library. *Institutions* I, chapter 10 urges the monks to read *De doctrina Christiana* after finishing the *Institutions*;¹⁰⁴ Jerome's Vulgate and Old Latin translations were copied in two of the Vivarium pandects, the Codex Minor and the Codex Grandior; and the Greek Septuagint was available in another pandect. But in addition, it is conceivable that Cassiodorus thought of the geographical distribution suggested by the three charts. The Vulgate, a Latin translation of the Hebrew, and Jerome's Old Latin translation of the Greek bridged the eastern and western Mediterranean, while *De doctrina Christiana* was a work from North Africa, an area that under Augustine had been in unity with Rome, but forcefully resisted Justinian over the Three Chapters.¹⁰⁵ The diagrams, owing their origins to the main regions of the Christian *oikoumene*, connected by routes that converged on Vivarium and its library, signified the divergent yet harmonious ways in which different nations of the unified Church read God's holy word.¹⁰⁶ The images probably ornamenting the charts in Grandior recalled that the Trinity is the supreme paradigm both of the Bible, with its many books and varied division systems, and of the unity in diversity that ought to exist among all faithful peoples.

¹⁰⁴ Ed. by Mynors, p. 34.

¹⁰⁵ Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, pp. 60–64; and Yves Modéran, 'L'Afrique reconquise et les Trois Chapitres', in this volume.

¹⁰⁶ Note the language of *Inst.*, I, 11. 3, ed. by Mynors, p. 36: 'nunc videamus quemammodum lex divina tribus generibus divisionum a diversis Patribus fuerit intimata; quam tamen veneranter et concorditer suscipit universarum Ecclesia regionum'.

Appendix

Indirect evidence suggests that the lamb, dove, and male bust above the three scriptural diagrams in the Codex Amiatinus (Figs 2–4)¹⁰⁷ were modelled on depictions of the same subjects symbolizing the Trinity above the Grandior charts. First, the Amiatinus/Grandior prologue (Fig. 5)¹⁰⁸ and *Institutions* I, chapters 12 and 13 refer to the Godhead in ways that may reflect Cassiodorus's awareness of such imagery in his pandect. The prologue advises the reader wishing to contemplate the 'image of eternity' (*aeterni saeculi [...] imaginem*) to pray for a cleansed heart to the 'Father of lights' (*patrem luminum*: James 1. 17). It concludes with an admonition to be mindful that despite the 'unequalness' of the systems of Augustine, Jerome, and the Septuagint, 'the teachings of the fathers concordantly lead to the instruction of the heavenly Church'. *Institutions* I, chapters 12 and 13, describing the Jerome and Augustine schemata, direct that the 'omnipotent and indivisible Trinity' (*omnipotentem et indivisibilem Trinitatem*) and 'unity of the holy Trinity' (*sanctae Trinitatis unitatem*) be added to the books in each group of lists to create mystical numbers, fifty for the Jerome diagram and seventy-two for the Augustine diagram.¹⁰⁹

Second, there is the marked resemblance between the ornaments of the Amiatinus diagrams and the representations of a male bust, a lamb, and a dove, in some manuscripts of *Institutions* II, above the diagrams of rhetoric (*Institutions* II, 2. 11), the *Isagoge* (*Institutions* II, 3. 8), and the *Categories* (*Institutions* II, 3. 9) (see Figs 9–11). Of the five manuscripts dating between the eighth and tenth centuries that I have studied, three in addition to Bamberg Patr. 61 and Paris Mazarine 660, this sequence of pictures appears in four; the only interruption is a vase ornamenting the diagram of philosophy (*Institutions* II, 3. 4), between the rhetoric and *Isagoge* charts.¹¹⁰ In three codices the series is preceded by a diagram

¹⁰⁷ Florence, BML, Cod. Amiatino 1, fols 5/VI^r, 8^r, 6/VII^r.

¹⁰⁸ Florence, BML, Cod. Amiatino 1, fol 3/IV^r (above, note 25).

¹⁰⁹ Ed. by Mynors, pp. 37, 39. Grandior probably had similar texts below its Jerome and Augustine diagrams. The rubrics beneath the Jerome and Augustine schemata in Amiatinus substitute references to Christ and divine unity for the Trinity. I agree with Meyvaert that the changes were likely made by the Wearmouth-Jarrow monks in copying from the Italian pandect: Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 839–41.

¹¹⁰ Ed. by Mynors, pp. 104, 110, 112–13, see pp. xix–xx, lvi; Corsano, 'First Quire', pp. 29–30. The motifs occur at Bamberg Patr. 61, fols 41^v, 44^r, 45^r, vase at fol. 43^v; Paris Mazarine 660, fols 114^r, 117^v, 118^r, vase at fol. 116^r; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 855, fols 220^r, 234^r, 236^r,

that springs from a cross in a roundel.¹¹¹ The Bamberg codex artist has labelled the bust ‘Lord Donatus, outstanding grammarician’ (Fig. 9) and the vase ‘chalice of the lord Donatus’, attributing to these motifs a resolutely secular meaning.¹¹² The artists of St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 855 and Paris Mazarine 660, however, seem to have interpreted the sequence as Trinitarian or Christological; both give the male bust a halo, and in the St Gall codex this is inscribed with a cross.¹¹³ Fabio Troncarelli has postulated an increasing Christianization of the text and artwork of the *Institutions* as it went through revisions at Vivarium. That the scriptorium might have decorated or come to decorate certain diagrams in *Institutions* II with Trinity motifs, the signification of which was forgotten or ignored in copies later made at other scriptoria, is not implausible, given Cassidorus’s assertions that the seeds of secular knowledge were sown in the Bible and that the liberal arts lead to meditation on Christ and the Trinity.¹¹⁴

If Vivarium also designed Trinitarian imagery for the biblical diagrams in some copies of *Institutions* I (no trace of this survives, but it is a possibility),¹¹⁵ and if

vase at fol. 230^r; and London, BL, MS Harley 2637, fols 12^r, 17^r, 17^v, vase at fol. 15^v. In Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Augiensis CCXLI, the bust occurs at fol. 10^r, the vase at fol. 13^r, and the lamb at fol. 14^r, but the bird is replaced by an abstract ornament at fol. 15^r. On the likely Vivarium origin of the decoration of the liberal arts diagrams in these manuscripts, see Troncarelli, “Con la mano del cuore”, pp. 30–34.

¹¹¹ For *Inst.*, II, 2. 9, ed. by Mynors, p. 103. Bamberg Patr. 61, fol. 40^v; London, BL, Harley 2637, fol. 11^r; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 855, fol. 216^r. The cross also appears in Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Augiensis CCXLI, fol. 9^r, where the ‘Trinity’ sequence is incomplete (above, previous note).

¹¹² ‘Domnus Donatus eximius grammaricus’ (fol. 41^v); ‘calix domni Donati gramatici’ (fol. 43^v).

¹¹³ St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 855, fol. 220^r; Paris Mazarine 660, fol. 114^r.

¹¹⁴ *Inst.*, I, *Praefatio* 6, 4. 2, II, *Conclusio*, ed. by Mynors, pp. 6, 21, 158–63. See Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, pp. 34–35; Troncarelli, “Con la mano del cuore”, pp. 28, 34–36, though his analysis runs into difficulty since he overlooks the Jerome diagram in Bamberg Patr. 61. The Trinitarian or Christological significance of the motifs may have been deliberately suppressed in the Bamberg codex; the labelling of the bust and vase with references to Donatus seems awkward. The artist or designer perhaps worried about the orthodoxy of such a series, as may have the Wearmouth-Jarrow monks who designed the Codex Amiatinus (see above, at note 36). It may well be significant that Bamberg Patr. 61 is a late eighth-century treatise ascribed to Montecassino during the residency of Paul the Deacon, Charlemagne’s former advisor. The abbey was certainly aware, at the time, of the anxieties stirred by the iconoclastic controversy, and thus by any notion of ‘imaging’ divinity, in the Mediterranean and at the Carolingian court.

¹¹⁵ The hypothesis outlined above (previous note) can be applied to understanding the biblical diagrams, as well, of Bamberg Patr. 61. Again, it is conceivable (albeit unprovable!) that the

Wearmouth-Jarrow owned such a manuscript, it might have influenced the ornament of the Amiatinus diagrams. If the English abbey owned a decorated copy of *Institutions* II, an artist might have adapted the Amiatinus imagery from the male bust, lamb, and dove above the diagrams of rhetoric, the *Isagoge*, and the *Categories*, as Karen Corsano proposed.¹¹⁶ Yet as Paul Meyvaert has argued, the evidence that any portion of the *Institutions* was at the Northumbrian monastery is at best inconclusive; rather, the weight of evidence clearly supports the view that Wearmouth-Jarrow did not own this work.¹¹⁷ Since Grandior, however, *was* almost certainly in its library and influenced other pages of Amiatinus, a much more plausible explanation for the parallel between the art of the *Institutions* II diagrams and of those in Amiatinus is that the inspiration for the latter came from Grandior. The Trinity motifs of Amiatinus probably recall Trinity images above the Italian pandect's biblical charts.

artist or designer decided not to preserve a Vivarium sequence of Trinity motifs for fear it was unorthodox. This perhaps led to the substitution of a cross (fol. 15^v) for what was perceived as an anthropomorphic image of God the Father.

¹¹⁶ Corsano, 'First Quire', pp. 29–30. *Institutions* II circulated separately from Book I as well as within the combined treatise: see *Institutiones*, ed. by Mynors, pp. xviii–xxxix.

¹¹⁷ Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 827–35. Michael Gorman has reasserted the opinion of Pierre Courcelle and Corsano that the *Institutions* were at Wearmouth-Jarrow, but the arguments remain unconvincing. One problem is that to bolster this claim, Gorman and Corsano dismiss the strong evidence that the English monastery possessed the Codex Grandior: Gorman, 'Codex Amiatinus', pp. 869–72, quoting (p. 869) Pierre Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and their Greek Sources*, trans. by Harry E. Wedeck (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 395 n. 7; Corsano, 'First Quire', *passim*. Meyvaert's contention that Bede did not know the *Institutions* remains persuasive. I review the evidence that Wearmouth-Jarrow owned Grandior in 'Christ and the Vision of God', p. 85. Note, for example, that in *De Tabernaculo*, II (CCSL, 119A, pp. 81–82) and *De Templo*, II (CCSL, 119A, pp. 192–93), Bede remarks that Grandior's pictures of the Tabernacle and Temple (which Bede clearly knew) are recalled in Cassiodorus's *Expositio Psalmorum*. Cassiodorus, Bede surmises, may have gained the necessary information for designing these images from Jews. Bede says nothing in any of his comments on the two Grandior pictures about the clear statement in *Inst.*, I, 5. 2 (ed. by Mynors, p. 23) that Cassiodorus's source was the blind Novatian Eusebius. The logical conclusion is that at the time of writing (*De Tabernaculo* and *De Templo* postdate Amiatinus's departure for Rome), Bede did not know this passage in the *Institutions*.

Part III

The Frankish and Lombardic Response



Map 3. Western Europe

IL REGNO LONGOBARDO IN ITALIA E I TRE CAPITOLI

Claudio Azzara

Una nota epistola datata all'anno 591, indirizzata all'imperatore Maurizio da dieci vescovi della provincia dell'Histria il territorio delle cui diocesi era stato occupato dai longobardi, offriva un drammatico quadro delle lacerazioni che allora interessavano le terre altoadriatiche a causa dell'intrecciarsi del dissidio religioso ed ecclesiastico dei Tre Capitoli con le conseguenze dell'invasione longobarda della penisola italiana.¹ I citati presuli nello scritto rievocavano con orgoglio la propria storia: la loro provincia ecclesiastica era stata l'unica a non cedere allo *scandalum* perpetrato da Giustiniano con la condanna degli scritti di Teodoreto di Ciro, Iba di Edessa e Teodoro di Mopsuestia (cui aveva finito per piegarsi invece lo stesso papa Vigilio), tenendo ferma la fede nel concilio di Calcedonia malgrado le persecuzioni patite dal loro metropolita, il patriarca di Aquileia, per mano dell'esarca, da ultimo con la deportazione a Ravenna del vescovo Severo. Tale posizione era condivisa non solo dal clero regionale, ma anche da tutti gli uomini delle loro diocesi, talmente accesi per questa causa da preferire la morte all'abiura. Nel rivolgersi al *princeps*, i vescovi gli chiedevano in sostanza di porre un freno alla veemente pressione esercitata su di loro dal papa Gregorio I e promettevano di sottoporsi al giudizio imperiale, per spiegare adeguatamente le proprie ragioni in un concilio, a tempo debito, e cioè dopo la sconfitta degli invasori longobardi e il ripristino della pace ad opera dell'esarca Romano. La

¹ Gregorio, *Registrum epistolarum*, I, 16A, edd. Paul Ewald e Ludo M. Hartmann, 2 voll., MGH, *Epp*, 1–2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1887–99), I, 21–23. I vescovi coinvolti erano Ingenuino di Seben, Massenzio di Zuglio, Lorenzo di Belluno, Augusto di Concordia, Agnello di Trento, Agnello di Asolo, Iunior di Verona, Fonteio di Feltre, Felice di Treviso e Oronzo di Vicenza. Sulla lettera dei dieci vescovi si vedano le annotazioni di Stefano Gasparri, *Prima delle nazioni: Popoli, etnie e regni fra Antichità e Medioevo* (Roma: La Nuova Italia Scientifica 1997), pp. 124–26.

professione di fiducia nella *sancta res publica* era esplicita, malgrado le violenze commesse dai soldati esarcali, di cui serbava memoria *totus populus partium istarum*; ciò nonostante, si pregava Dio perché concedesse la vittoria sulle *gentes* nemiche (i longobardi) a un imperatore che doveva garantire la *tranquillitas* della chiesa. A fronte di una dichiarazione di fedeltà tanto esplicita non mancava però in calce una minaccia: quella di farsi consacrare, in caso di vacanza di una qualche loro sede e di perdurante prigionia del metropolita di Aquileia, dagli arcivescovi della vicina Gallia, così da provocare la dissoluzione della stessa metropoli di Aquileia, che era parte dell'impero dei romani.

La lettera del 591 (ambigua in alcuni punti del testo e tramandata da una tradizione manoscritta incerta), nella sua drammatica urgenza, rendeva evidente il malessere di una vasta regione altoadriatica, *grosso modo* corrispondente alla vecchia provincia romana della Venetia et Histria, che doveva allora patire al contempo la violenza dell'aggressione dei longobardi (penetrati in Italia proprio attraverso quelle terre, vent'anni prima) e le persecuzioni per la propria collocazione religiosa ad opera di un impero che era invece chiamato a liberarla, piuttosto, dai nuovi invasori. L'irrequietezza dell'area, aggravata dalle ultime vicende, non era peraltro improvvisa: per quanto si riesce a ricostruire, le regioni nordorientali della penisola italica avevano vissuto con particolare fastidio il ripristino dell'autorità imperiale all'indomani del collasso del regno goto, alla metà del secolo, interpretandolo in sostanza come l'imposizione forzata di un'onerosa macchina amministrativa esterna, greco-orientale, sugli equilibri locali duramente provati dalla guerra. In tale clima, l'adesione ai Tre Capitoli poteva aver significato, per i meno consapevoli sul piano dottrinale, soprattutto un pronunciamento antigustiniano e anticonstantinopolitano, che si saldava con la particolare disposizione antiromana (o almeno a-romana) e con la specifica autocoscienza della chiesa aquileiese.²

Nella metropoli aquileiese sussisteva infatti una remota tradizione ecclesiastica di matrice non romana, da ascrivere a un'originaria evangelizzazione di provenienza orientale, probabilmente alessandrina, di quelle terre. Questo comportava la presenza nella chiesa della regione di un sentimento di peculiare autorevolezza e autonomia, anche nei confronti del vescovo di Roma, con il quale le relazioni erano state sempre rarefatte. Per esempio, per l'intero IV secolo si ha notizia di due

² In sintesi, sulla vicenda dell'area in oggetto nella seconda metà del VI secolo, si vedano: Paolo Cammarosano, 'Aquileia e Grado nell'alto Medioevo', in *Aquileia e l'arco: atti della XX settimana di studi aquileiesi* (Udine: Arti grafiche friulane, 1990), pp. 129–55; Claudio Azzara, *Venetiae: Determinazione di un'area regionale fra antichità e alto medioevo* (Treviso: Fondazione Benetton, Canova, 1994; repr. 2002), pp. 63–69.

sole lettere prodotte da un papa, Liberio, con oggetto il patriarcato di Aquileia.³ Al contrario, la sede aquileiese manteneva un rapporto privilegiato con quella di Milano (a perpetuare, in ambito ecclesiastico, il vecchio nesso politico tra le due città capitali del tardo impero romano): il presule di Aquileia e quello milanese si ordinavano reciprocamente e condividevano scelte di culto comuni di provenienza greco-orientale. Solo durante il pontificato di Leone I il papato romano sembrò acquisire un qualche motivo di prestigio sul clero della Venetia et Histria, sulla scia del resoconto leggendario che attribuiva all'opera di quel pontefice la fine delle razzie nella penisola italiana di Attila, il quale aveva devastato Aquileia stessa e molti altri centri della provincia.⁴

L'orientamento in senso greco-orientale della chiesa veneto-istrianica si poté riscontrare ancora agli inizi del secolo VI, in occasione della dura polemica sui criteri di datazione della Pasqua che oppose, in modo assai aspro, i due contendenti al soglio pontificio, Simmaco, favorevole all'uso romano, e Lorenzo, incline a quello giudeo-alessandrino. La regione ecclesiastica veneto-istrianica dimostrò di optare, almeno inizialmente, per la datazione non romana, sebbene nel concilio dell'anno 502, convocato per dirimere la controversia, il patriarca di Aquileia finì con lo schierarsi, assieme al suo collega milanese, a favore della legittimità dell'elezione a papa di Simmaco. Nella delicatissima situazione in cui la sede romana venne a trovarsi in tale frangente la chiesa della Venetia fu chiamata a giocare un ruolo di notevole rilievo, malgrado la propria apparente lontananza spirituale e disciplinare. Quando infatti i sostenitori di Lorenzo convinsero il re Teoderico a nominare un *uisitator* di inviare a Roma per mediare tra i due contendenti al soglio petrino, la scelta del monarca goto cadde sul vescovo Pietro di Altino, un importante centro delle lagune venetiche, che, secondo la narrazione del *Liber Pontificalis* (in questi passi ricettore della versione pro-Simmaco), era stato successivamente condannato assieme a Lorenzo, quale *inuasor sedis apostolicae*, dal citato

³ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, edd. Philip Jaffé e Wilhelm Wattenbach, 2 voll. (Leipzig: Veit, 1885–88), I, 214, +217, +218; *Italia pontificia: sive repertorium privilegiorum et litterarum a Romanis pontificibus ante annum MCLXXXVIII Italiae: ecclesiis, monasteriis, civitatibus singulisque personis concessorum*, ed. Paul Fridolin Kehr, 11 voll. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1906–25), VII.1, 2–3.

⁴ Per un'introduzione alla storia della chiesa della Venetia et Histria, si rinvia a, Giorgio Fedalto, 'Organizzazione ecclesiastica e vita religiosa nella "Venetia maritima"', in *Le origini di Venezia*, a cura di Antonio Carile e Giorgio Fedalto (Bologna: Pàtron, 1978), pp. 251–415; Daniela Rando, *Una chiesa di frontiera: Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche veneziane nei secoli VI–XII* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994).

concilio del 502.⁵ Il motivo di una simile scelta da parte di Teoderico rimane oscuro: forse, esso celava un tentativo di far pendere l'ago della bilancia a favore di Lorenzo, ipotizzando che il presule altinate potesse essere a costui più vicino, in conformità con gli orientamenti generali della metropoli aquileiese (anche se, come detto, nel 502, il patriarca di Aquileia cambiò campo, lasciando isolato lo stesso Pietro di Altino) e come appare anche confermato dall'identificazione che il concilio fece, nella condanna finale, tra il *uisitator*, cui si rinfacciò di agire senza validi titoli di legittimità, e l'antipapa.

In un ambiente ecclesiastico così configurato, in chiave di spiccata autonomia da Roma (se non di palese ostilità verso la stessa), si innestò, dagli anni quaranta del VI secolo, la polemica relativa allo scisma dei Tre Capitoli. In età precedente il clero venetico-istriano aveva denunciato qualche occasionale propensione per il pelagianesimo (anche se non nelle sedi vescovili principali), ma, almeno per quanto se ne sa, nessuna per il monofisismo. La condanna giustiniana delle formulazioni di Teodoro di Mopsuestia, Iba di Edessa, e Teodoreto di Ciro, tesa a ingraziarsi i monofisiti, incontrò dunque da subito una fermissima opposizione presso il clero e i fedeli delle diocesi dell'Italia settentrionale, strette attorno ai due metropolitani di Milano e di Aquileia, in sintonia con quanto avvenne inizialmente un po' in tutto l'occidente. Il vescovo di Milano Dazio fu incarcerato a Costantinopoli per questo motivo e nel 552 il suo clero scrisse a un legato franco diretto nella capitale imperiale non solo perché intercedesse a favore del prigioniero, ma anche perché si rendessero note in tutta la Gallia merovingia le *persecutiones et uiolenciae* subite da Dazio e dal papa Vigilio e la coraggiosa resistenza all'inaccettabile pronunciamento imperiale manifestata dai vescovi occidentali, tra i quali quelli delle province italiane della Liguria, dell'Aemilia e della Venetia, per contro alla vile arrendevolezza dei presuli greci.⁶

Com'è noto, la maggior parte delle sedi dell'occidente, inclusa Roma, mutarono in misura progressiva il proprio atteggiamento iniziale, cedendo alle molte pressioni esercitate dall'imperatore e culminate con la deportazione a Costantinopoli del papa Vigilio. Il successore di questi, Pelagio I, pur autore da diacono di una *Defensio* delle ragioni tricapitoline, avviò un'aperta persecuzione di coloro che si configuravano ormai in veste di scismatici, in collaborazione con i funzionari

⁵ *Le Liber pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne, 2 voll. (Paris: E. Thorin, 1886-92), I, 260-63.

⁶ *Ep. 4, Epistolae Aevi Merovingici Collectae*, ed. Wilhelm Gundlach, in *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, vol. I, edd. Wilhelm Gundlach, Ernst Dümmler, et alii, MGH, *Epp.* 3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), pp. 438-42. Su tutte queste vicende, si veda Cammarosano, 'Aquileia e Grado nell'alto Medioevo'.

imperiali attivi in Italia, come il *patricius* Giovanni. Con il regredire del fronte di resistenza al dettato giustiniano sui Tre Capitoli, il patriarca di Aquileia venne sempre più a costituire il perno dello scisma, la cui area di massimo radicamento sostanzialmente coincideva con la sua metropoli.

Di Pelagio I restano ben sedici lettere indirizzate a interlocutori dell'area veneto-istrianica, per lo più ufficiali imperiali (il *magister militum* e altri *patricii*), un numero elevato se lo si confronta con quello delle missive pontificie inviate in tale regione nelle epoche precedenti: l'ambito nordorientale della penisola italiana e la sua chiesa sembrano aver assunto consistenza agli occhi di Roma e intensità di frequentazione con il soglio di Pietro solo in concomitanza con il radicarsi dello scisma tricapitolino. Il pontefice biasimava l'arroganza del clero veneto e la sua indebita pretesa di dichiararsi *generalis ecclesia*, contestava la validità della prassi dell'ordinazione del presule di Milano da parte di quello di Aquileia, cercando così di spezzare l'asse privilegiata tra quelle due sedi per ricondurle piuttosto a Roma, sollecitava i vescovi della regione a rientrare nell'ortodossia ed esortava le autorità laiche a intervenire con la forza contro gli scismatici.⁷ Gli ufficiali imperiali, tuttavia, preferivano non forzare la mano in uno scacchiere politico-territoriale delicatissimo, agitato da pulsioni anticonstantinopolitane ed esposto alla latente minaccia di aggressione a opera delle tribù avaro-slave, dei franchi e poi dei longobardi. Dal suo canto, la chiesa dell'Italia nordorientale proprio nello scontro disciplinare e dottrinale con Roma maturò ulteriormente il processo di presa di coscienza di sé — esaltando i propri tratti distintivi —, che si saldava con il probabile, ricordato, orientamento anticentralistico (e quindi ostile all'asse Costantinopoli-Roma) sul piano politico dei territori della vecchia provincia della Venetia et Histria, frutto dell'insoddisfazione per i modi del ripristino dell'autorità imperiale fissato dalla *Pragmatica sanctio* del 554, e che poteva perciò trovare nel tricapitolinismo un motivo di identità unitaria e un'utile bandiera polemica per l'intera regione e per la sua società.

L'irruzione in Italia dei longobardi, nell'anno 568 o 569, e il progressivo stabilizzarsi di questa stirpe in buona parte del suolo della penisola, ebbe significativi riflessi anche sul quadro politico-ecclesiastico e religioso della regione veneto-istrianica, con riferimento all'opzione tricapitolina. I territori nordorientali, roccaforte dello scisma, subirono una graduale bipartizione politica, con l'entroterra a mano a mano occupato dai longobardi (in successive campagne militari, che si

⁷ Sulle relazioni fra papa Pelagio I e la Venetia, si veda da ultimo Claudio Azzara, 'Papa Pelagio I (556-561) e le *Venetiae*', in *Tempi, uomini ed eventi di storia veneta: Studi in onore di Federico Seneca*, ed. Sergio Perini (Rovigo: Minelliana, 2003), pp. 45-52.

reiterarono per tutto l'ultimo trentennio del VI secolo e per i primi anni di quello successivo), mentre la fascia litoranea restò sotto il controllo imperiale. Allo stesso tempo, tuttavia, sia le diocesi assorbite nel regno longobardo sia quelli conservate dall'impero mantennero la loro comunione nelle difese dei Tre Capitoli, attorno al patriarca di Aquileia nel frattempo riparato, per sfuggire all'invasione, nel piccolo centro insulare di Grado, dove mantenne il proprio titolo, contando di poter rientrare nella città abbandonata non appena i longobardi fossero stati sconfitti. In tal modo, si perpetuava in ambito ecclesiastico un'unità, di segno scismatico, che sul piano politico era venuta a mancare. Nell'anno 579 a ecclesiastici provenienti da ambedue le aree, longobarda e imperiale, fu possibile confluire concordemente a Grado per partecipare a una sinodo tesa proprio a ribadire la loro fedeltà tricapitolina e celebrata nella basilica, eretta dieci anni prima dal patriarca Elia, non per caso intitolata a Eufemia, la santa simbolo di quel credo calcedonese che i tricapitolini ritenevano messo in discussione dalla condanna di Giustiniano. Analogo congresso ebbe luogo nel 591 a Marano. La comune adesione allo scisma non si limitava ad alimentare un prezioso e difficile collegamento fra territori ormai separati da dominazioni diverse e scossi dalla guerra, ma ribadiva pure la specifica identità della metropoli aquileiese, in chiave sempre antiromana, pur senza chiudere del tutto la possibilità di un dialogo con il papato.⁸

Di fronte a un quadro così significativamente complicato dall'insediamento dei longobardi nella penisola italiana e dal carattere di confine politico e militare assunto proprio dai territori della scismatica metropoli di Aquileia, in uno scacchiere delicatissimo, la sede papale dovette adottare, almeno durante con le fasi di più acuta emergenza, un atteggiamento di maggior cautela, rispetto alla fermezza di un Pelagio I sopra accennata. L'opera di riassorbimento dello scisma si faceva

⁸ Sull'irruzione dei longobardi nei territori della Venetia e sulle sue ripercussioni sugli assetti sociali, politici ed ecclesiastici dell'area, si vedano, in estrema sintesi, Massimiliano Pavan e Girolamo Arnaldi, 'Le origini dell'identità lagunare', in *Storia di Venezia*, vol. I: *Origini-Età ducale*, a cura di Lellia Cracco Ruggini e Massimiliano Pavan (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1992), pp. 409-56 (pp. 410-13); Azzara, *Venetiae*, pp. 71-82. Più in generale, circa le vicende di questi territori nell'alto medioevo, si tenga sempre presente Gherardo Ortalli, 'Venezia dalle origini a Pietro II Orseolo', in Paolo Delogu, André Guillou e Gherardo Ortalli, *Longobardi e Bizantini*, Storia d'Italia, I (Torino: UTET, 1980), pp. 339-428. Per le sinodi di Grado e di Marano, si rinvia a Fedalto, 'Organizzazione ecclesiastica', pp. 315-20, e Giuseppe Cuscito, 'La fede calcedonese e i concili di Grado (579) e di Marano (591)', in *Grado nella storia e nell'arte*, vol. I, Settimana di studi aquileiesi, 10 (Udine: Arte grafiche friulane, 1980), pp. 207-30. Sulla sinodo di Marano si veda anche Walter Pohl, 'Heresy in Secundus and Paul the Deacon', in questo volume.

più difficile anche per il venir meno, nel mutato contesto politico generale, della possibilità di ricorrere alla coercizione delle autorità civili contro i prelati scismatici, così come s'era potuto invece fare in passato. Ora, si rendeva necessaria, piuttosto, una più paziente e complessa opera di graduale recupero del clero tricapitolino attraverso il confronto delle reciproche posizioni. Per questo, Pelagio II, pur continuando a tener aggiornati sulla vicenda gli ufficiali imperiali, a cominciare dall'esarca Smaragdo, tra il 585 e il 586 si preoccupò di scrivere almeno tre lettere al patriarca Elia e agli altri prelati *Histriae partibus constituti* per convincerli a recedere dal loro errore, auspicando un rapido chiarimento a proposito di quello che egli riteneva un semplice 'equivoco' da parte degli interlocutori circa l'adesione pontificia al dettato di Calcedonia: assolutamente mai messa in dubbio, a differenza di quanto essi, sbagliando, credevano.⁹

A dispetto di tale ammorbidimento dei toni da parte del pontefice e dell'opportunità anche per l'impero di agire con prudenza in un'area di notevole importanza strategica, non si rinunciò del tutto a cercare, seppur occasionalmente, di risolvere il contrasto con un atto di forza. Verso la fine del pontificato di Pelagio II, il patriarca Severo (il successore del citato Elia), insieme con altri tre vescovi e con il *defensor* della chiesa di Aquileia, si recò a Ravenna e fu qui convinto, con i suoi accompagnatori, a rientrare nell'ortodossia; una volta ritornati nelle proprie sedi, Severo e i suoi compagni furono però ripudiati dagli altri presuli tricapitolini e dal popolo delle loro diocesi e vennero forzati a ritrattare l'abiura pronunciata nella città dell'esarca in una sinodo appositamente convocata a Marano. La tradizione aquileiese fu lesta nell'attribuire il comportamento di Severo alle minacce e perfino alla violenza fisica che avrebbe esercitato su di lui l'esarca Smaragdo: la memoria delle persecuzioni (magari amplificata) rimase sempre per i tricapitolini uno degli elementi di più forte coesione, di identità unitaria e di coinvolgimento emotivo collettivo, oltre che di coscienza della giustezza della propria posizione (si è perseguitati proprio in quanto difensori della verità, a opera di chi invece è caduto nell'errore). Dall'altra parte, agli occhi del papa l'urgenza del superamento dello scisma era accresciuta dall'intima convinzione che da un'auspicabilissima pace religiosa dipendeva pure la pace politica, tanto più desiderabile in ragione dell'emergenza militare che scuoteva l'Italia dopo l'arrivo dei longobardi.¹⁰

⁹ Pelagius II, *Epistolae Pelagii Iunioris Papae ad episcopos Histriae*, in MGH, *Epp*, 2, *Appendix*, III, pp. 442–67.

¹⁰ Sull'episodio di Severo, si rinvia a Fedalto, 'Organizzazione ecclesiastica', pp. 320–21; Azzara, *Venetiae*, pp. 102–03. L'eco della tradizione aquileiese su questa vicenda si ricava anche attraverso la narrazione che ne fa Paolo Diacono: *Historia Langobardorum*, III, 26, edd. Ludwig

Il successore di Pelagio II, Gregorio I, si rese protagonista di un'azione più determinata e incisiva contro gli scismatici delle regioni veneto-istriane, procedendo a una graduale erosione del fronte tricapitolino, mediante il recupero all'ortodossia romana del maggior numero possibile di sedi episcopali dell'area. La sua opera ebbe ragguardevoli riflessi anche sulla configurazione stessa della metropoli aquileiese, poiché le sedi di volta in volta riassorbite venivano sottratte alla dipendenza da Aquileia a sottoposte direttamente a Ravenna. Tale strategia subentrò a un'iniziale azione più diretta e dura contro i presuli fedeli ai Tre Capitoli, in quanto nei primi tempi del suo pontificato Gregorio aveva sopravvalutato la volontà e la capacità dell'esarca di usare la forza contro gli scismatici, pretendendo, come già detto, che Severo di Aquileia si portasse a Roma per rendere conto delle sue posizioni in ottemperanza di un ordine imperiale in tal senso. Come s'è visto sopra, la risposta dei prelati veneto-istriani si era tradotta in una lettera all'imperatore per indurlo a frenare lo zelo pontificio, agitando pure lo stato di emergenza conseguente alla guerra con i longobardi, che sconsigliava mosse affrettate. Durante il pontificato di Gregorio I sono testimoniate, comunque, una forte tensione e un'altrettanto acuta instabilità in molti centri dell'area di diffusione dello scisma, che coinvolgevano anche le popolazioni, oltre agli ecclesiastici: ne è un esempio quanto occorso nell'*insula Capritana* (diversamente identificata con Caorle o con Capodistria), il cui vescovo aveva dapprima abiurato e poi riabbracciato lo scisma, nel mentre gli abitanti della sua città erano passati a Roma e attendevano dal papa l'invio di un vescovo cattolico, consacrato dal presule di Ravenna.¹¹

Il paziente lavoro di disgregazione della compattezza scismatica della metropoli aquileiese operato da Gregorio I diede esito, pochi anni dopo la morte del papa, a una radicalizzazione dalle conseguenze assai rilevanti. Infatti, alla scomparsa del patriarca di Aquileia, residente a Grado, Severo, avvenuta nel 610, furono eletti in contemporanea due successori, Giovanni, tricapitolino, che riparò ad Aquileia, in territorio longobardo (successivamente egli si spostò nelle più sicure Cormons e poi Cividale), e Candidiano, ortodosso, che restò a Grado, in campo imperiale.

Bethmann e Georg Waitz, MGH, *SrLI* (Hannover: Hahn, 1878), pp. 12–187 (pp. 105–07). Per la trattazione da parte di Paolo Diacono di quanto occorso nella diocesi aquileiese in rapporto ai Tre Capitoli si veda Pohl, 'Heresy in Secundus and Paul the Deacon', in questo volume.

¹¹ Per il caso dell'*insula Capritana*, si veda Gregorio, *Epp.* IX, 152, 155, MGH, *Epp.* 2, pp. 152–53, 155–56. Sull'atteggiamento complessivo di Gregorio Magno verso i Tre Capitoli, si rinvia Carole Straw, 'Much Ado About Nothing: Gregory the Great's Apology to the Istrians', in questo stesso volume.

L'assetto conseguente a tale divaricazione segnava la fine dell'unità ecclesiastica della provincia e tracciava un nuovo confine ecclesiastico e religioso che ricalcava perfettamente la frontiera politica: se in precedenza l'area di fede tricapitolina-aquileiese aveva potuto scavalcare il *limes* longobardo-imperiale, ora si creavano invece due blocchi omogeneamente definiti e contrapposti, uno scismatico-aquileiese-longobardo nell'entroterra, l'altro cattolico-gradense-imperiale lungo la costa altoadriatica.¹²

Quale ruolo poté esercitare (se davvero ne esercitò uno) il potere longobardo nel favorire la divisione della sede patriarcale di Aquileia? La tradizione gradense, fissatasi nella *Cronica de singulis patriarchis noue Aquileie*, attribuiva esplicitamente l'elezione di Giovanni, il patriarca tricapitolino, a un'azione di forza del duca longobardo del Friuli Gisulfo su mandato del re Agilulfo; per contro, l'opposta tradizione aquileiese, conservata dagli atti della sinodo di Mantova del 6 giugno 827 (che rappresentò una sorta di regolamento di conti finale tra Aquileia e Grado, con successo della prima), imputava la scelta del presule cattolico di Grado alla volontà dei *Greci*, cioè delle autorità imperiali.¹³ In un caso come nell'altro, si metteva dunque al centro un intervento esterno alla chiesa di segno politico e di natura coercitiva, teso a ritagliare alla propria parte una porzione del territorio della metropoli, ponendola sotto un patriarca amico. Dal suo canto, Paolo Diacono, ottimamente informato sulle vicende di quell'Italia del nord-est da cui egli stesso proveniva, finiva per raccogliere entrambe le versioni, riconoscendo come se per un verso Candidiano era una creatura dei *Romani*, per un altro Giovanni era stato eletto 'con il consenso del re e del duca Gisulfo'.¹⁴

La versione dei fatti aquileiese, critica verso l'ingerenza imperiale, è enunciata in modo aperto in una lettera indirizzata al re longobardo Agilulfo dallo stesso vescovo Giovanni, il quale spiegava al monarca come i tre presuli della sua metropoli Pietro, Providenzio e Agnello, 'che fino a quel momento si erano mantenuti

¹² Fedalto, 'Organizzazione ecclesiastica', pp. 327-31; Azzara, *Venetiae*, pp. 108-10.

¹³ Rispettivamente, *Cronica de singulis patriarchis noue Aquileie*, in *Cronache veneziane antichissime*, vol. I, ed. Giovanni Monticolo, Fonti per la storia d'Italia pub. dall' Istituto storico italiano. Scrittori, secoli X-XI (Roma: Forzani, 1890), pp. 3-16 (p. 9): 'per consensum Agilulfi regis Langobardorum Gisulfus dux per vim episcopum in Foroiulii ordinavit Iohannem abbatem'; e gli atti della Sinodo Mantovana dell'827 editi in *Concilium Mantuanum 827*, in *Concilia aevi Karolini*, vol. II, ed. Albert Werminghoff, MGH, *Conc.*, 2.2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1908), pp. 583-89. Sul problema posto da tale doppia tradizione, si veda Cammarosano, 'Aquileia e Grado nell'alto Medioevo', pp. 152-55.

¹⁴ Paolo Diacono, *Historia Langobardorum*, IV, 33, p. 127.

nella fede santa [cioè nel credo scismatico] e che non si trovavano affatto in comunione con Candidiano', fossero stati strappati a forza alle proprie chiese dai soldati dell'Esarcato e obbligati, con gravi oltraggi e minacce, a schierarsi con il candidato gradense.¹⁵ Giovanni chiedeva pertanto ad Agilulfo di agire a tutela della *fides catholica* (cioè dei Tre Capitoli, ovviamente intesi come l'ortodossia dai loro sostenitori), proteggendo i prelati tricapitolini e cercando di evitare, alla morte di Candidiano, che si verificasse a Grado una nuova 'ordinazione iniqua' (*iniqua ordinatio*). La tradizione aquileiese, nel bollare come nulla l'elezione di Candidiano in quanto avvenuta al di fuori della norma canonica e nel negare lo stesso rango di città (e quindi di degna sede episcopale) a Grado, una 'piccola isola' (*parua insula*) da sempre mera residenza estiva dei patriarchi aquileiesi, doveva ammettere peraltro, come si legge negli atti della citata sinodo mantovana dell'827, l'impossibilità per il re longobardo di operare concretamente, poiché Grado 'per la resistenza dell'esarca Smaragdo non poté essere allora conquistata dai longobardi, ma restò sotto il dominio dei greci, e per questo motivo accadde che il re non fu capace di fornirgli [scil. a Giovanni] nessun aiuto'.¹⁶

Insomma, da quanto si può tentare di ricostruire sulla base di simili testimonianze, tutte fortemente orientate e polarizzate, sembrerebbe di poter scorgere, nel momento in cui la progressiva erosione del fronte tricapitolino creò i presupposti per una frantumazione della metropoli e una duplicazione della carica patriarcale, un primo intervento delle autorità imperiali, che, elevando Candidiano a Grado, cercarono di ricompattare attraverso una rinnovata omogeneità ecclesiastica e religiosa la propria residua area di controllo politico, militare e 'ideologico' del versante occidentale dell'arco altoadriatico. In conseguenza di ciò, si ebbe anche il rivolgersi, a quel punto inevitabile, del clero tricapitolino bisognoso di protezione all'*altera pars*, cioè a quei longobardi che pure gli stessi tricapitolini avevano in un recente passato aborrito come barbari invasori nella ricordata lettera dei dieci vescovi a Maurizio, ma che ora rappresentavano l'unica garanzia di tutela contro la repressione imperiale e il rischio di riassorbimento forzoso delle ragioni scismatiche. Per il clero della metropoli di Aquileia sostenitore dei Tre Capitoli il ricorso al re longobardo si configurò dunque come un'opzione

¹⁵ *Ep. 1, Epistolae Langobardicae collectae*, ed. Wilhelm Gundlach, in MGH, *Epp*, 3, pp. 691–715 ('qui adhuc fidem sanctam tenebant et Candidiano necdum consenciabant').

¹⁶ *Conc. Mantuanum*, in MGH, *Conc.*, 2.2, p. 586: 'Smaragdo hexarcho resistente, tunc a Langobardis capi non poterat, sed ad iura Graecorum tenebatur, quare factum est, quod rex ei nullum potuit prestare auxilium.'

obbligata in virtù dello sfavorevole evolvere della situazione. Rimane da stabilire quale vantaggio potevano trarre i longobardi dall'accogliere tale appello.

Una vecchia lettura di Gian Piero Bognetti, tra i primi studiosi ad occuparsi dell'atteggiamento dei re longobardi verso i Tre Capitoli, nello scorgere una collaborazione tra Agilulfo e alcuni non meglio identificabili consiglieri romani attivi alla sua corte (tra cui Secondo di Non [Trento] e un certo Paolo), al fine di configurare la propria regalità in termini non più esclusivamente etnici, ma accettabili anche dalla popolazione autoctona italica, ritiene che il monarca avrebbe mirato alla costituzione di una 'chiesa cattolica nazionale' (cioè del regno longobardo), dalla connotazione anti-imperiale e separata da Roma, in grado di assicurargli un sostegno analogo a quello garantito dalle chiese franca e visigota ai rispettivi re; e a questo scopo sarebbe risultato perfetto il profilo tricapitolino.¹⁷ Un'interpretazione del genere, oltre a impiegare categorie sostanzialmente anacronistiche per l'epoca qui considerata, quali quella di 'chiesa nazionale', e a ignorare le contraddizioni tra il preteso vagheggiamento longobardo di una 'chiesa nazionale tricapitolina' e la contestuale seppur cauta apertura di Agilulfo nei confronti di un papato vieppiù aperto verso l'occidente (ben testimoniata per il pontificato di Gregorio Magno), ha il torto, soprattutto, di disegnare come grandi scelte strategiche opzioni che sembrano invece esser state essenzialmente tattiche. Proporsi quale referente e protettore dei tricapitolini, in quel momento specifico e in quel preciso contesto, e soddisfacendo una loro espressa richiesta, significava per Agilulfo incunearsi nei dissidi fra i romani in un'area di confine di notevole valenza strategica, guadagnando una prima solidarietà di una parte delle *élites*

¹⁷ Gian Piero Bognetti, 'S. Maria foris portas di Castelseprio e la storia religiosa dei Longobardi', in Bognetti, *L'età longobarda*, 4 voll. (Milano: Giuffrè, 1966-68), II, specialmente pp. 214-15 e 283. Maggiormente condivisibile l'interpretazione che della politica longobarda verso i Tre Capitoli è stata proposta da Ottorino Bertolini, 'Riflessi politici delle controversie religiose con Bisanzio nelle vicende del secolo VII in Italia', in *Caratteri del secolo VII in Occidente*, 2 voll., Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 5 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1958), II, 733-89, e Raoul Manselli, 'La Chiesa longobarda e le Chiese dell'Occidente', in *Longobardi e Lombardia: aspetti di civiltà longobarda*, Atti del VI Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto Medioevo (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1980), pp. 247-64, che propendono ambedue per la tesi di una semplice volontà da parte di Agilulfo di spezzare per questa via i legami tra le *élites* romane del regno e l'impero. Più di recente, sui Tre Capitoli e i longobardi si veda anche Gasparri, *Prima delle nazioni*, pp. 121-28. Per la figura di Secondo di Non e per le interpretazioni storiografiche della politica di Agilulfo e Teodolinda verso il clero tricapitolino si rinvia Pohl, 'Heresy in Secundus and Paul the Deacon', in questo volume.

ecclesiastiche romane del regno e delle popolazioni da loro inquadrare al monarca di una stirpe fino a quel momento percepita solo come nemica. In questo modo egli poteva sfruttare con molto pragmatismo fratture preesistenti per accrescere la base di consenso del proprio potere, con una politica flessibile che si manteneva in equilibrio tra diverse istanze, senza dover compiere scelte troppo nette ed esclusive. Agilulfo come la massima parte dei capi barbari era formalmente ariano, nel senso di affermazione per questa via di un'identità non-romana, ma probabilmente egli e la sua *gens* erano soprattutto ancora legati alla tradizione pagana della stirpe, vitale elemento di coesione del gruppo etnico; e poteva al contempo aprire ai cattolici, ancorché eterodossi tricapitolini, attraverso la moglie Teodolinda (cattolica perché bavara di nascita) e la mediazione di figure di collaboratori che restano sfuggenti, quali quella di Secondo di Non. Una simile disposizione, sostanzialmente sincretica, o polivalente, nella sua indeterminatezza, ispirata a convenienze diverse e funzionale all'estensione del consenso, si riflette in un eclettismo dei simboli del potere in età agilulfina, che unì i dipinti 'tradizionali' e pagani, evocatori delle glorie passate della *gens Langobardorum*, commissionati da Teodolinda a Monza e ricordati da Paolo Diacono, alla volontà di autodefinirsi *rex totius Italiae* (e non *rex Langobardorum*) nella corona del tesoro di Monza o all'incoronazione del figlio ed erede Adaloaldo, già battezzato cattolico (ma da un prete tricapitolino, Secondo!), all'interno del circo di Milano, con una cerimonia dal forte simbolismo romano-imperiale.¹⁸

Che il sostegno al tricapitolinismo non costituisse un'opzione strategica di ampia e lunga prospettiva, ma si inserisse piuttosto in un quadro più complesso di necessarie mediazioni politiche e culturali, in varie direzioni (anche apparentemente contrastanti), tra i re longobardi e i loro nuovi interlocutori romani, interni ed esterni al regno (a cominciare dal papa), sembrerebbe confermato dalla condotta del citato Adaloaldo, del quale si intuisce una sintonia con il pontefice Onorio I che pure pare esser stato l'artefice di un'opera di ulteriore recupero all'ortodossia romana di molti presuli tricapitolini, tanto da venir celebrato quale vincitore dello scisma sia nel proprio epitaffio sia nell'epigrafe dedicatoria apposta

¹⁸ Sulle connotazioni della regalità agilulfina si vedano Paolo Delogu, 'Il regno longobardo', in Delogu, Guillou, e Ortalli, *Longobardi e Bizantini*, pp. 3-216 (pp. 43, 50-51); Stefano Gasparri, *La cultura tradizionale dei Longobardi: Struttura tribale e resistenze pagane* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1983), pp. 55-61; Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 284-96. Il cenno ai dipinti monzesi si legge in Paolo Diacono, *Historia Langobardorum*, IV, 22, p. 124.

alla porta principale della basilica di San Pietro (e tramandata dalla moderna edizione del *Liber Pontificalis*).¹⁹ Onorio ottenne tali successi grazie a un ferreo controllo della sede di Grado, sulla quale nel 628 installò un proprio uomo, Primigenio; da allora Grado rimase per lunghissimo tempo il terminale alto-adriatico di Roma, forse favorendo anche un progressivo distacco della chiesa e delle popolazioni locali da Costantinopoli e un loro allineamento sulla posizioni pontificie, esplicito, ad esempio, in occasione della controversia monotelita.

Ogni schieramento rimaneva, peraltro, fluido. In una lettera datata al 625, Onorio esortava l'esarca Isacio a catturare quei vescovi che avevano spinto un tale Pietro figlio di Paolo a schierarsi con il 'tyrannus' Arioaldo contro il legittimo 'rex' Adaloaldo, tradendo la fedeltà promessa ad Agilulfo; ma poco tempo dopo, morto Adaloaldo e inviato Primigenio a Grado per una vigorosa iniziativa disciplinare e pastorale contro lo scisma, lo stesso Onorio sollecitava tutti i vescovi della provincia a essere in comunione con il nuovo patriarca, ricordando loro di avere chiesto all'*excellentissimus Langobardorum rex* Arioaldo (il *tyrannus* della lettera precedente) di scovare e consegnare alla giustizia il vescovo Fortunato, scismatico, fuggito in campo longobardo.²⁰

Dopo Onorio e fino a Sergio I (eletto nel 687) l'interesse della sede romana per l'ambito nordorientale d'Italia appare affievolito, almeno a giudicare dalla testimonianza del *Liber Pontificalis* e degli epistolari pontifici, segno forse anche di uno stemperarsi della questione tricapitolina, a fronte della progressiva cattolicizzazione dei re e della stirpe intera dei longobardi e del venir meno, a un secolo di distanza dal momento della sua genesi e in un quadro generale del tutto trasformato, delle ragioni di fondo dello scisma, sul piano teologico-dottrinale, ma soprattutto politico ed ecclesiastico. Durante il pontificato di Sergio, i patriarchi di Aquileia e i loro suffraganei rientrarono nell'ortodossia, e lo scisma tricapitolino, ormai svuotato del proprio senso, ebbe termine.²¹

Una coincidenza fra polarizzazione ecclesiastica e polarizzazione politica, con riguardo al contrasto fra longobardi e imperiali, sopravvisse, ma senza più rapporto con la sostanza dei Tre Capitoli, ormai affievoliti anche nel ricordo. Dopo

¹⁹ *Liber pontificalis*, pp. 324 nota 2 (iscrizione della porta di San Pietro) e 326 nota 19 (epitaffio).

²⁰ Rispettivamente, *Epp* 2, 3, *Epistolae Langobardicae collectae*, in MGH, *Epp*, 3, pp. 691–715 (pp. 694–95).

²¹ Il definitivo rientro nell'ortodossia dei vescovi della metropoli aquileiese al tempo del papa Sergio (687–701) viene ricordato anche dal *Liber pontificalis*, pp. 371–76. Si vedano in merito Fedalto, 'Organizzazione ecclesiastica', p. 334; Azzara, *Venetiae*, pp. 111–12.

la conquista militare della penisola istriana da parte dei longobardi, attorno al 770, Aquileia avanzò pretese di primazia sulla chiesa dell'Istria, giustificandole con la sopraggiunta comune appartenenza al *regnum Langobardorum*, che rendeva impossibile per gli istriani continuare a subordinarsi a un presule del territorio imperiale quale quello gradense, fino a quel momento il loro metropolita. Tali rivendicazioni si irrobustirono ulteriormente con l'annessione dell'Istria, tra il 780 e il 787, al più possente dominio carolingio in Italia (che com'è noto aveva sconfitto e assorbito il regno longobardo), trovando soddisfazione nella già menzionata sinodo di Mantova del 6 giugno 827, che in buona sostanza legittimò la piena affermazione della superiorità metropolitica di Aquileia e ridusse a una posizione marginale Grado, avviandola al definitivo declino.²² A Mantova la partita venne condotta sulla base di considerazioni di natura squisitamente giurisdizionale (che svilivano Grado a mera *plebs* della vicina sede, più antica e prestigiosa, perché di fondazione apostolica, marciana) e con la piena consapevolezza di tutto il peso politico-militare dell'impero carolingio, che sosteneva Aquileia; tuttavia, non si può non pensare che le ragioni dell'esistenza della doppia sede patriarcale, rimontante in ultima istanza ai Tre Capitoli, avessero cominciato a sgretolarsi con il superamento dello scisma già in età longobarda e con il venir meno del senso dell'alterità tricapitolina nelle terre venete e istriane.

²² Sulla sinodo mantovana si vedano, in estrema sintesi, Fedalto, 'Organizzazione ecclesiastica', pp. 386–91; Azzara, *Venetiae*, pp. 132–33.

THE FRANKS AND PAPAL THEOLOGY, 550–660

Ian Wood

The Three Chapters controversy and the ensuing Aquileian schism are not usually portrayed as having much impact on the Merovingian kingdom. Neither Gregory of Tours nor Fredegar makes any reference to the conflict. Yet it would be wrong to think that members of the Merovingian Church had no interest in the theological debates that rocked the Mediterranean world in the sixth and seventh centuries. The problem appears to have been not so much a lack of interest, or even of theological competence, but rather of intermittent and confused information, which led to some curious statements. A history of the Three Chapters controversy in Francia is, therefore, as much a tale of the transmission of ideas as it is of the ideas themselves. This being the case, it will also be useful to look both earlier, to evidence for the circulation of knowledge of the Acacian schism, and later, to the Monothelete crisis, to provide a broader context for an understanding of Frankish awareness of the Tricapitoline schism.

As early as 549 the Merovingian Church would seem to have taken note of the theological conflict surrounding the Three Chapters.¹ The very first canon of the fifth Council of Orléans goes as follows:

And thus the impious sect once founded by Eutyches, the sacrilegious originator, conscious of his evil, and departing from the living fount of the Catholic faith, as well as

¹ The fullest account of the crisis in general remains that of Erich Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft*, 2 vols (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1930–33). There are, however, useful summaries in Jeffery Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476–752* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), pp. 139–61; Judith Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (London: Fontana, 1987), pp. 119–27; Patrick T. R. Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451–553)*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1979), pp. 66–67.

whatever was set forward by the similarly venomous and impious Nestorius, both of which sects the Holy See condemns, so too we execrate them, their founders and followers and we anathematize and condemn them by the power of this present constitution, preaching the right and apostolic order of faith in the name of Christ.²

It is rare to find such an extended theological statement in the canons of the Merovingian councils. The placing of the canon at the head of all those issued at Orléans in 549, together with the reference to the papacy, suggests that the bishops were reacting very specifically to the crisis caused by Justinian (527–65). Exactly which of the positions of Vigilius (537–55), against or for the condemnation of the Three Chapters, prompted the canon is less clear. From the date, one might assume that the Merovingian clergy were affirming the condemnation. Whether they were fully up-to-date with Vigilius's position, however, is an open question.

Although no papal letter survives which could have prompted the first canon of the Council of Orléans, we do have a number of letters to show that Vigilius was making an effort to develop contacts with the Church of Arles, and by extension with the Frankish Church in the early 540s. Already in 545 he was instructing Gallic bishops to address major questions to the papacy.³ At this date Vigilius was hostile to the Emperor's condemnation of the Three Chapters. It may be that we should envisage the bishops at Orléans as responding to a very specific appeal by the papacy made in the months before the Pope's initial capitulation to Justinian. In this case comparison might be made with events exactly a century later, during the Monothelete crisis of Pope Martin I (649–53).⁴ On the other hand, the bishops may have been reacting to news that Vigilius had been forced to condemn the Three Chapters.⁵ In that case, they may have approved his action, or they may have taken a stance akin to some of their Italian colleagues, who criticized the Pope for giving in to the Emperor. This last hypothesis would seem to be the strongest. In 550 — that is, the year after the Council of Orléans —

² Orléans V, 1, *Les canons des conciles mérovingiens (VI^e–VII^e siècles)*, ed. by Jean Gaudemet and Brigitte Basdevant, 2 vols, SC, 353, 354 (Paris: Cerf, 1989), 353, pp. 300–03. See also Odette Pontal, *Die Synoden im Merowingereich* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1986), pp. 94–101.

³ Ep. 40, *Epistolae Arelatenses Genuinae* (henceforth *Epp Arel. Gen.*), ed. by Wilhelm Gundlach, in *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, vol. I, ed. by Wilhelm Gundlach, Ernst Dümmler, and others, MGH, *Epp*, 3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), pp. 59–60.

⁴ Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2, in *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici*, vol. III, ed. by Bruno Krusch, MGH, *SrM*, 5 (Hannover: Hahn, 1910), pp. 452–56.

⁵ Herrin, *Formation of Christendom*, p. 120; Richards, *Popes and the Papacy*, p. 146.

Vigilius sent an account of the development of the Tricapitoline crisis to Bishop Aurelian of Arles, insisting on his attachment to the four ecumenical councils, that is Nicea, Constantinople I, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.⁶ It would appear that he felt the need to explain his position.

A further reason for thinking that the Merovingian clergy were opposed to the condemnation of the Three Chapters in 549 is to be found in a letter written to Emperor Justinian by Bishop Nicetius of Trier, who himself signed the Council of Orléans in fourth place. The letter is to be found in the late sixth- or early seventh-century collection known as the *Epistolae Austrasiacae*.⁷ Here the Bishop attacks the Emperor for believing that Christ was *purum hominem*, and calls upon him to anathematize Nestorius and Eutyches. Justinian would have been surprised (and not a little angered) at the initial charge, but he would have had no problem in conceding to the demand to condemn the heretics. Nicetius goes on to ask the Emperor to refrain from persecution. The letter is not, unfortunately, dated, but it was clearly prompted by the affair of the Three Chapters. It may even be possible to be a little more precise about its context, and indeed to place it in the early 550s.

Nicetius's letter may usefully be set alongside another document, preserved in an eighth-century manuscript of canon law, Phillipps 1743, now in Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek. This is a letter from the clergy of Milan, which is dated to 552.⁸ Unfortunately it lacks any heading: the addressees are only later revealed as *christiani et nobilis viri* [sic]. The Milanese churchmen were concerned to ensure that a Merovingian embassy intended for Constantinople — perhaps even to attend the Church council⁹ — was properly informed about the Emperor's treatment of Pope Vigilius and Bishop Datius of Milan. They knew of exchanges between the Pope and Bishop Aurelian of Arles, which had taken place two years before.¹⁰

⁶ *Ep. 45, Epp Arel. Gen.*, pp. 66–68.

⁷ *Ep. 7, Epistolae Austrasiacae* (henceforth *Epp Aust.*), ed. by Wilhelm Gundlach, in MGH, *Epp*, 3, pp. 118–19. The letter is not discussed by Paul Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam* (Paris: Picard, 1956) in his analysis of the Austrasian letters. The most useful discussion is by Patrick T. R. Gray and Michael W. Herren, 'Columbanus and the Three Chapters Controversy: A New Approach', *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 45 (1994), 160–70.

⁸ *Ep. 4, Epistolae Aevi Merovingici Collectae* (henceforth *Epp Aevi Merov.*), ed. by Wilhelm Gundlach, in MGH, *Epp*, 3, pp. 438–42.

⁹ This appears to be the interpretation of Herrin, *Formation of Christendom*, p. 122.

¹⁰ Gundlach, MGH, *Epp*, 3, p. 441 n. 1, identifies this exchange with *Ep. 45, Epp Arel. Gen.*, pp. 66–68.

Datius, it should be remembered, would soon be one of those martyred in the course of opposition to Justinian over the Three Chapters.¹¹ He was certainly a figure of interest to the Merovingian Church. Included within the *Epistolae Austrasiacae* is a letter addressed to Nicetius of Trier from Florianus, abbot of the unidentified, but certainly Milanese, monastery of Romenus.¹² The Abbot asks the Bishop to pray for Bishop Datius, joining his prayers to those of the dead Ennodius of Pavia, Caesarius of Arles, Abbot Theodatus, and Ambrose of Milan. Whether or not this letter belongs exactly with that from the clergy of Milan, it is clear that they both come from the same general context. Around the year 552 supporters of Datius were going out of their way to lobby support for their bishop, and were putting pressure on Frankish kings and clergy to make representation at the Byzantine court. It may have been to such pressure that Nicetius was responding in his letter to Justinian.

Vigilius's condemnation of the Three Chapters in 548, and, worse, his acceptance of the canons of the second Council of Constantinople in 554, prompted immediate hostile reaction. That of the north Italians to this volte-face is well known, culminating as it did in the Aquileian schism. Unfortunately there is no evidence to indicate the Frankish reaction to Vigilius's acceptance of the second Council of Constantinople. A significant number of letters of Pelagius I (556–61), Vigilius's ultimate successor as pope,¹³ are, however, preserved in a collection known as the *Epistolae Arelatenses Genuinae*,¹⁴ and they allow us to follow papal relations with Francia between 556 and 559 in considerable detail.

The *Epistolae Arelatenses Genuinae* are a remarkable collection of fifty-six letters dating to the period between 417 and 556. The collection is concerned primarily with the status and rights of the Bishops of Arles and was doubtless compiled in part with those issues in mind. It does, however, shed light on numerous other matters, including relations between the papacy and the Merovingian king, Childebert I (511–58), and it deserves greater attention from specialists in Frankish history than it has received.

There are eleven letters of Pelagius I addressed to Frankish clergy, notably Sapaudus of Arles, and to King Childebert. Almost all of them are included in the *Epistolae Arelatenses*, although there are some exceptions. Pelagius himself had

¹¹ Herrin, *Formation of Christendom*, p. 122.

¹² *Ep. 5, Epp Aust.*, pp. 116–17.

¹³ Richards, *Popes and the Papacy*, pp. 156–61.

¹⁴ *Epp Arel. Gen.*, in MGH, *Epp*, 3, pp. 1–83.

initially been a sharp critic of Vigilius's acceptance of the Justinianic position, but he accepted the Emperor's theological stance on becoming Pope.¹⁵ Among his letters in the Arles collection is one written to Sapaudus on 4 July 556, announcing his election as Pope.¹⁶ Two months later he sent messengers to both the Bishop and Childebert: unfortunately the chief message of the embassy was transmitted by word of mouth.¹⁷ On 11 December of the same year Pelagius wrote to Childebert, having heard from the King's legate Rufinus of some unorthodoxy in Gaul. This clearly related to the Three Chapters, as Pelagius goes on to say that since the death of Theodora (548) there have been no theological problems in the East, except a few minor difficulties over *capitula* — surely a reference to the condemnation of the Three Chapters. He explains that he anathematizes all those against Chalcedon and Leo, thus attempting to show that his own position is thoroughly orthodox. He also explains that Justinian, *pater vester, clementissimus imperator* ('your father, the most merciful emperor') has overthrown all heresies. He relates that he himself has been in Constantinople, where he has been attacked by Nestorians, a group, he reminds the King, that had been condemned by Pope Leo I. He closes by saying that he is sending some relics via monks of Lérins.¹⁸ These relics are further referred to in a letter sent three days later to Sapaudus, where Pelagius also makes reference to the office of *vicarius*, which had not yet been granted to the Bishop, and to appeals for clothes for a war-stricken Rome.¹⁹ The letter to the King is a nifty bit of footwork, implying that nothing of any note had happened theologically since 548, and what problems there were had been caused by Nestorians. Essentially Pelagius was attempting to draw a veil over the Tricapitoline crisis by asserting that the positions of Pope Leo and Chalcedon had been upheld.

¹⁵ Most succinctly stated by Victor of Tunnuna (= Tonnenna), *Chronicle, s.a. 558, Vittore da Tunnuna Chronica: Chiesa e Impero nell'eta di Giustiniano*, ed. by Antonio Placanica (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1997), pp. 56–57; see Richards, *Popes and the Papacy*, pp. 157–58.

¹⁶ Pelagius I, *Ep. 1, Pelagii I Papae epistulae quae supersunt*, ed. by Pius M. Gassò and Columba M. Batlle, *Scripta et documenta*, 8 (Montserrat: In Abatia Montiserrati, 1956), pp. 1–2 = *Ep. 46, Epp Arel. Gen.*, p. 69. For Pelagius I's letters the edition by Gassò and Batlle will be cited first; references to the *epistolae* edited in MGH, *Epp*, 3 will be given in brackets.

¹⁷ Pelagius I, *Ep. 2*, pp. 3–5 (*Ep. 47, Epp Arel. Gen.*, pp. 69–70).

¹⁸ Pelagius I, *Ep. 3*, pp. 6–10 (*Ep. 48, Epp Arel. Gen.*, pp. 70–72).

¹⁹ Pelagius I, *Ep. 4*, pp. 11–13 (*Ep. 49, Epp Arel. Gen.*, pp. 72–73).

On 3 February 557, Pelagius I wrote to Sapaudus conferring the vicariate and the pallium,²⁰ and on the same day he informed Childebert as much.²¹ At exactly the same time he wrote another letter to the King about a theological scandal. Rufinus, no doubt the man referred to in the letter of 11 December of the previous year, had asked how much of the Tome of Leo was still accepted. The pope insists that the Tome is completely orthodox, and that his own definition of faith is as in the four synods. He also appends a lengthy statement of his faith, setting out the two indivisible natures in Christ. He urges Childebert to extirpate heresy from the Frankish Church.²² Again the Pope's reply is skilful: Leo and the four ecumenical councils of Nicea, Constantinople I, Ephesus, and Chalcedon are cited as touchstones: there is no reference to Constantinople II, or to Pelagius's acceptance of it.

Sometime over the next three months Childebert allowed a case to be brought against Sapaudus by another bishop, a breach of the canons which prompted Pelagius to fire off a letter of criticism.²³ On 13 April Pelagius wrote to Sapaudus, asking him how the King had taken his letter. He also asked for more cloaks for the needy in Rome.²⁴

The next letter to be included in the *Epistolae Arelatenses* is not addressed to Sapaudus, Childebert, or indeed to anyone in Gaul, but rather to a group of schismatic bishops in Tuscany. At its heart is a statement of faith upholding Nicea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, as well as the Tome of Leo. Interestingly Pelagius talks of *Ephesinae primae* (probably to distinguish the ecumenical council from the Robber Synod of Ephesus of 449), but he gives no numerical descriptor to Constantinople, either deliberately ignoring Constantinople II or hoping to slip two councils together.²⁵ Exactly why this letter should have been preserved in the Arles collection is a puzzle. It suggests very considerable interest in the Pope's religious position on the part of Bishop Sapaudus, or whoever was responsible for the collection of letters. Moreover the points are covered in the

²⁰ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 5, pp. 14–17 (*Ep.* 50, *Epp Arel. Gen.*, pp. 73–74).

²¹ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 6, pp. 18–19 (*Ep.* 51, *Epp Arel. Gen.*, p. 75).

²² Pelagius I, *Ep.* 7, pp. 20–25 (*Ep.* 54, *Epp Arel. Gen.*, pp. 77–80). See Robert Eno, 'Papal Damage Control in the Aftermath of the Three Chapters Controversy', *Studia Patristica*, 19 (1989), 52–56.

²³ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 8, pp. 26–27 (*Ep.* 52, *Epp Arel. Gen.*, pp. 75–76).

²⁴ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 9, pp. 28–30 (*Ep.* 53, *Epp Arel. Gen.*, pp. 76–77).

²⁵ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 10, pp. 31–34 (*Ep.* 55, *Epp Arel. Gen.*, pp. 80–81).

letter that follows, Pelagius *episcopus universo populo Dei* ('bishop to the universal people of God'). Here the Pope sets out his own beliefs, announcing that none of them are against the faith of the fathers or the four synods (i.e. Nicaea, Constantinople I, Ephesus, Chalcedon, with Constantinople II implicitly excluded). He also upholds the canons of the apostolic see, the letters of Popes Celestine, Sixtus, Leo, Hilarus, Simplicius, Felix, Gelasius, Anastasius, Symmachus, Hormisdas, John, Felix, Boniface, John, and Agapetus. Significantly Vigilius is not named. Pelagius openly accepts Theodoret and Ibas (though there is no mention of Theodore).²⁶ Technically this was in line with Constantinople II, which condemned only Theodore in person, alongside certain writings of Theodoret and Ibas. On the other hand, by passing over the condemnations in silence, the Pope would appear to have been trying to make his position as acceptable as possible to those who opposed the Justinianic stance. He was on the defensive.

Interestingly this is the final letter in the Arles collection, which, as a result, does not include a letter written to Sapaudus by Pelagius between December 558 and February of the following year. This last letter is perhaps the most astonishing of all, and makes quite clear the hostility of the Frankish Church towards Pelagius's position at the end of his pontificate.²⁷

Pelagius begins by stating that he has been criticized for a letter over definitions of faith sent after the general council, *post generale concilium*. Here at last is an acknowledgement of Constantinople II. He comments on the amount of suffering he has undergone as a result and claims that he is not contumacious, citing Cyprian on the value of self-correction — doubtless an allusion to the fact that he himself changed his mind over the Three Chapters. He claims that the Orient, Illyricum, and Africa have all come to the light (over the Three Chapters) after initial blindness, as can be seen from provincial councils. He then cites Augustine on the value of correction, before saying that while six hundred African, Illyrican, and eastern bishops are in the right, there are only three or four fugitives. Here he was undoubtedly downplaying the opposition: in their edition of the Pope's letters, Pius Gassò and Columba Batlle effortlessly provide more than that number.²⁸ Pelagius next turns to the Gallic bishops, who have forgotten holy custom and unity with the Holy See, following rumours and fallacies. He appeals for a return to unity and to acceptance of the opinions of Rome, and announces that he has

²⁶ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 11, pp. 35–40 (*Ep.* 56, *Epp Arel. Gen.*, pp. 81–83).

²⁷ Pelagius I, *Ep.* 19, pp. 55–61 (*Ep.* 5, *Epp Aevi Merov.*, pp. 442–45).

²⁸ Gassò and Batlle, *Pelagii I Papae epistulae*, p. 60, n.

sent King Childebert a statement of his own beliefs, showing that nothing he believes is in opposition to the four venerable synods (of Nicea, Constantinople I, Ephesus, and Chalcedon). He also promises, if required, to explain his position and to remove the cause of the scandal. Finally, in a parting shot he attacks the appointment of laymen as bishops, and the making of idols out of flour.

In this extraordinary letter, Pelagius certainly fails to use the political skills apparent in his earlier statement.²⁹ He has clearly been rattled by accusations of personal inconsistency. His final two points look like a churlish attempt to seize the moral high ground and embarrass Sapaudus by introducing quite separate issues. There was no reason to have included them in the same letter. When in February 557 Pelagius had also wished to make two distinct points, one formal and the other critical, to Childebert, he had done so in separate letters.³⁰ On the other hand, one can see why such criticism may have led the compiler of the *Epistolae Arelatenses* to leave the letter out of their collection, if he had not already made the selection. This is, in any case, the last of Pelagius's letters to Francia to have survived. Thus, in 558/59 the Frankish bishops, not usually regarded as a centre of Tricapitoline schismatics, were clearly opposed to the papal position, and we do not actually know when they accepted it. Indeed, one letter of Gregory the Great (590–604) addressed to Brunhild suggests that, while the main body of the Frankish Church had fallen into line with the papacy, there was still a notable group of schismatics in Francia as late as 597.³¹

Before leaving the Frankish correspondence of Vigilius and Pelagius, it is worth noting how frequent is reference to King Childebert. He is the recipient of four letters³² and is mentioned in a further eight.³³ Childebert did not get a particularly good press from Gregory of Tours, though he received some praise from

²⁹ William E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 265: 'In 558/9 Pope Pelagius wrote to him to defend his support for the fifth ecumenical council and to call for an end to idolatry and the irregular promotion of laymen to the episcopate' is a rather tame account.

³⁰ Pelagius I, *Epp.* 6, 7, pp. 18–19, 20–25 (*Epp.* 51, 54, *Epp. Arel. Gen.*, pp. 75, 77–80).

³¹ Gregory, *Ep.* VIII, 4, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. by Dag Norberg, 2 vols, CCSL, 140–140A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), 140, pp. 518–21. Gregory's letters henceforth cited from this edition.

³² Vigilius, *Ep.* 40, *Epp. Arel. Gen.*, pp. 59–60; Pelagius I, *Epp.* 3, 6, 8, pp. 6–10, 18–19, 26–27 (*Epp.* 48, 51, 52, *Epp. Arel. Gen.*, pp. 70–72, 75, 75–76).

³³ Vigilius, *Epp.* 41, 43, 44, 45, *Epp. Arel. Gen.*, pp. 60–62, 63–64, 64–66, 66–68; Pelagius I, *Epp.* 2, 4, 9, pp. 3–5, 11–13, 28–30 (*Epp.* 47, 49, 53, *Epp. Arel. Gen.*, pp. 69–70, 72–73, 76–77). One might also note *Ep.* 3, *Epp. Aevi Merov.*, pp. 437–38, from Lupus of Sens to Childebert.

Venantius Fortunatus.³⁴ Moreover, he was well enough remembered in Francia to be held up as a model of piety in a letter of the mid-seventh century.³⁵ Pelagius's letters show him very much in the thick of relations with the papacy. That he was genuinely interested in the Church may also be inferred from his association with Frankish ecclesiastical councils. He is named at the head of the canons of Orléans III (538) and mentioned specifically in the opening canon of Orléans V (549), the very council that begins with a statement of faith prompted by the Three Chapters crisis. Michael Wallace-Hadrill went so far as to call this a national council of all three Frankish kingdoms.³⁶ Childebert was also responsible for summoning the second Council of Paris in 551/52, which dealt with the case of Bishop Saffaracus.³⁷ In addition the King was responsible for some notable foundations: he founded a *xenodochium* in Lyons, whose property was dealt with at the fifth Council of Orléans,³⁸ and he collaborated with Bishop Aurelian over the foundation of the monastery of St Peter's in Arles, for which he negotiated a privilege from Pope Vigilius.³⁹ Childebert may have been more than a cipher in discussions with the papacy over the Tricapitoline crisis.

The extent of the information provided to the Frankish Church by Vigilius, Pelagius, and indeed by the Church of Milan may lead one to wonder how Nice-tius could link Emperor Justinian to Eutyches, Nestorius, and the doctrine of Christ as *hominem purum*.⁴⁰ That Nicetius's see lay in the Austrasian kingdom of Theudebert (533–48) and Theudebald (548–55), rather than in the kingdom of Childebert, need not, I think, trouble us: after all he attended the fifth Council of Orléans. Moreover, Vigilius had himself been in contact with Theudebert, as

³⁴ Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina*, II, 10 (as a new Melchisedec), VI, 2 (on his piety), VI, 6 (on his widow, Ultrogotha), *Venance Fortunat, Poèmes*, ed. by Marc Reydellet, 3 vols, Collection des universités de France (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1994–2004), I, 67, lines 17–26; II, 53–54, 55, lines 20–24, 55–59, 76. For a summary of Fortunatus's views of Childebert, see I, p. xxxviii.

³⁵ *Ep.* 15, *Epp Aevi Merov.*, pp. 457–60.

³⁶ John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 100.

³⁷ Gregory of Tours, *Opera*, vol. I: *Libri historiarum X*, IV, 36, ed. by Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH, *SrM*, 1.1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1937–51), pp. 168–69; Wallace-Hadrill, *Frankish Church*, pp. 100–01.

³⁸ Orléans V, 15, in SC, 353, pp. 310–13.

³⁹ Gregory, *Ep.* IX, 217, pp. 780–81; Wallace-Hadrill, *Frankish Church*, p. 57; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 262–63.

⁴⁰ *Ep.* 7, *Epp Aust.*, pp. 118–19.

he remarked to Caesarius of Arles,⁴¹ while Bishop Aurelian subsequently addressed a famous letter to the King.⁴² As Patrick Gray and Michael Herren have rightly emphasized in their study of Columbanus's letter to Pope Boniface IV (608–15), a call to anathematize both Nestorius and Eutyches can be seen as a call to reaffirm the Council of Chalcedon.⁴³ What looks like a confused theological stance need not be.

Yet we may be wrong to downplay the element of confusion in the position held by Frankish churchmen in this period. We do have some information to indicate a number of possible sources for Nicetius's knowledge of the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. The first, though not necessarily the most revealing, is the letter of Florianus to Nicetius. Here the Abbot lists a number of saints who would be interceding for Datius.⁴⁴ Among them are Caesarius, who Florianus claimed had taught him Latin, and Ennodius, who he identified not only as his godfather, but also as *Nestorii fulmen*, *Euticis extincor*, who *gloriosam dominam meam inviolabilemque Mariam christotocon et theotocon apostolica auctoritate perdocuit* (the 'thunderbolt that struck Nestorius and the destroyer of Eutyches', who 'taught with apostolic authority that my glorious and inviolable lady Mary was the mother of Christ and mother of God'). Ennodius, then, was a theological authority when it came to Nestorius and Eutyches. This claim may seem a little exaggerated when one consults the Bishop of Pavia's short tract *in Christi nomine* ('in Christ's name') on the Acacian schism.⁴⁵ More important was the fact that Ennodius had been picked by Pope Hormisdas (514–23) to lead a legation to Constantinople, to negotiate the end of the schism.⁴⁶

We may doubt whether the ideas of Ennodius himself had much currency in Francia, although they may have done since he had plenty of Provençal contacts.⁴⁷ But we can be absolutely certain that some writings prompted by the Acacian

⁴¹ *Ep.* 38, *Epp Arel. Gen.*, pp. 57–58.

⁴² *Ep.* 10, *Epp Aust.*, pp. 124–26. The letter is discussed by John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, *The Long-Haired Kings* (London: Methuen, 1962), pp. 191–92.

⁴³ 'Columbanus and the Three Chapters Controversy', p. 168.

⁴⁴ *Ep.* 5, *Epp Aust.*, pp. 116–17.

⁴⁵ Ennodius, CDLXIV *In Christi nomine*, in *Opera*, ed. by Friedrich Vogel, MGH, *AA*, 7 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1885), pp. 322–23. See on this S. A. H. Kennell, *Magnus Felix Ennodius: A Gentleman of the Church* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), pp. 202–05.

⁴⁶ Avitus of Vienne, *Epp.* 41–42, in *Opera quae supersunt*, ed. by Rudolph Peiper, MGH, *AA*, 6.2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883), pp. 69–72. Avitus's letters henceforth cited from this edition.

⁴⁷ See Kennell, *Magnus Felix Ennodius*, pp. 32–37.

schism did influence the Frankish episcopate in the later sixth century. Bishop Avitus of Vienne composed two tracts *Contra Eutychianam Haeresim* for the Burgundian king, Gundobad (d. 516), following the Trishagion riots that occurred in Constantinople in 511. These tracts are cited by Gregory of Tours in his account of Avitus.⁴⁸ Gregory, it should be remembered, was the biographer of Nicetius of Trier,⁴⁹ although it should also be noted that he makes no mention of the question of the Three Chapters in his biography, nor indeed in his histories.

Far from showing that the condemnation of Eutyches and Nestorius as a pair was simply a shorthand for support for the Council of Chalcedon, the Avitus tracts reveal that there was total confusion about the theology of the two heretics.⁵⁰ Not only did the Bishop of Vienne mix up Eutyches and Nestorius, he also wrongly regarded the addition of the phrase 'who was crucified for us' to the Trishagion as being orthodox, rather than Monophysite. Further, this was despite the fact that, or perhaps because, he was the recipient of information directly from Constantinople. The apparent confusion of Nicetius or later Columbanus does not need to be explained away as a misunderstanding on our part: there were plenty of perfectly intelligent theologians in the West who were not aware of who had argued what when it came to debates about the nature of Christ.

For the present I am not concerned with what Avitus understood or misunderstood about the Acacian schism. I am much more concerned about the source of his misunderstanding, since this may provide a significant model for understanding relations between the papacy and the Frankish Church in the late sixth and early seventh centuries. Here I wish to turn from the *Contra Eutychianam Haeresim* to a series of letters on matters concerning the papacy written by the Bishop of Vienne.

Still relating to the Acacian schism, Avitus wrote to the *vir illustris* ('famous man') Senarius, complaining that he had had no response to letters he had sent to the papacy asking for news about negotiations with Constantinople, which had been intended to restore communion with the Emperor.⁵¹ In his aggravation the Bishop of Vienne even referred to 'the holy Hormisdas, or whoever now is pope'.

⁴⁸ Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum*, II, 34, pp. 81–84.

⁴⁹ Gregory of Tours, *Liber Vitae Patrum*, 17, in *Opera*, vol. II: *Miracula et opera minora*, ed. by Bruno Krusch, MGH, *SrM*, 1.2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1885), pp. 661–774 (pp. 727–33).

⁵⁰ Avitus, *Contra Eutychianam Haeresim*, in MGH, *AA*, 6.2, pp. 15–29; see the translation and commentary in Danuta Shanzer and Ian Wood, *Avitus of Vienne: Letters and Selected Prose*, Translated Texts for Historians, 38 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), pp. 89–123.

⁵¹ Avitus, *Ep.* 39, p. 68.

The question of who occupied the papal see at any given time was not an idle one. One might recall the later and notorious failure of Columbanus to name the pope to whom he addressed Letter 3. Perhaps it was over the set of negotiations referred to in his letter to Senarius that Avitus wrote to Bishop Peter of Ravenna.⁵² In addition there is a letter to and a reply from Pope Hormisdas.⁵³ These last two letters are not to be found in any manuscript of the Avitus collection, but were rather preserved in the papal archives. Once again Avitus asks for information about news of the papal legation sent to negotiate the end of the Acacian schism. Here the leader of the embassy is named as Ennodius, and it may be that this appointment helped gain him the description of *Nestorii fulmen, Euticis extincor*. The tone of Avitus's letter is one of exasperation, and it must be said that the tact of Hormisdas in his reply suggests that the Pope was aware he had been less than punctilious in keeping the bishops of Gaul informed.

What these letters reveal is the sheer difficulty of communication. First, the Pope himself had not been as active as he might have been. Second, Avitus makes it clear that were he to be informed of developments by the Pope, he would ensure that the information was transmitted throughout Gaul.⁵⁴ The implication here is surely that the Bishop of Vienne is deliberately raising the possibility that Caesarius of Arles, whose see had been elevated above that of Vienne, had been remiss. Even had the more southerly bishop been lax in transmitting papal information, however, one needs to remember the problem of political frontiers. Caesarius may not have been able to circulate news immediately to bishops in neighbouring kingdoms. Other letters of Avitus show that kings could and did interrupt communications.⁵⁵ All these problems came over and above any difficulties the papacy had in communicating with Byzantium, or that the pope's Latin envoys had in understanding Greek theologians.

Some of these problems were specific to the early decades of the sixth century, but others were not. Even though the Frankish takeover of Provence in 536 meant that Arles came under Merovingian rule thereafter, there was always a frontier between the papacy and the kingdom of the Franks. Except on those rare occasions when there was a single Merovingian king, there were frontiers inside Francia, and they too could interrupt the transfer of information. But such interruptions

⁵² Avitus, *Ep.* 40, pp. 68–69.

⁵³ Avitus, *Epp.* 41–42, pp. 69–72.

⁵⁴ Avitus, *Ep.* 41, pp. 69–70.

⁵⁵ E.g. Avitus, *Ep.* 94, pp. 101–02.

appear to have presented less of a difficulty as the sixth century progressed. Perhaps also, popes made more attempt to pass on information after the opening decades of the century. We have already seen Vigilius making contact with the Frankish Church before 549. Eight years earlier, at the fourth Council of Orléans, the Gallic bishops had opted to celebrate the Victorian Easter, with the proviso that in cases of doubt they should consult and follow the papacy.⁵⁶ Earlier still, at the second Council of Vaison, in 529, the clergy of Provence opted to follow the papal introduction of the *Kyrie eleison* in the Mass;⁵⁷ to recite the name of the pope in church;⁵⁸ and, like the papacy, to anathematize those heretics who did not regard Christ as being co-eternal with the Father.⁵⁹ The significance of these last canons for the Frankish Church, though, should not be pushed too far: one should remember that in 529 Provence was still subject to the Ostrogoths. Moreover, Caesarius, who called the Council of Vaison, did not always get his clergy to follow his lead.⁶⁰ In fact, in this early period the papacy never developed a means of transmitting information regularly to the churches of the West.

Of course the papacy may not have been the only body concerned to inform the Merovingian court of the theological debates of the Mediterranean world. Indeed, for the imperial authorities in Ravenna, the Merovingians were near-neighbours. In the 550s the Franks held Venetia, and even after they lost the territories they held in north-eastern Italy, they continued to have an interest in the Val di Non.⁶¹ Justinian and his successors may have wanted to ensure that the doctrinal position of the Empire was adopted by the Franks. It has even been suggested that Venantius Fortunatus, who left Ravenna for the courts of the Merovingian kings in c. 565,⁶² was a Byzantine agent, one of whose concerns was

⁵⁶ Orléans IV, 1, in SC, 353, pp. 266–67. The attendance at this council is odd. Despite a few bishops from Chlothar I's kingdom, the majority come from the kingdoms of Childebert and Theudebert I. Pontal, *Synoden*, p. 86, concluded that 'Das Konzil war kein fränkisches Generalkonzil'.

⁵⁷ Vaison II, 3, in SC, 353, pp. 190–91.

⁵⁸ Vaison II, 4, in SC, 353, pp. 190–91.

⁵⁹ Vaison II, 5, in SC, 353, pp. 192–93.

⁶⁰ E.g. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 246–50.

⁶¹ The evidence for Frankish involvement is collected in Ian Wood, 'The Frontiers of Western Europe: Developments East of the Rhine in the Sixth Century', in *The Sixth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand*, ed. by Richard Hodges and William Bowden (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 231–53.

⁶² See *Venance Fortunat, Poèmes*, I, pp. viii–ix.

to secure support for the imperial position in the Tricapitoline schism.⁶³ Certainly Fortunatus praised the orthodoxy of Justin II (565–78) and his empress, Sophia, in the poem he addressed to them, thanking them for their gift of a fragment of the True Cross sent to Radegund.⁶⁴ On the other hand, the poem clearly welcomes Justin's recall of exiled bishops.⁶⁵ There is no consensus as to who these bishops were,⁶⁶ but Fortunatus's enthusiasm for the change in policy does not suggest that he was a supporter of Justinian's hardline stance. Indeed, it was once thought that he was himself in favour of the Aquileian schismatics.⁶⁷ He was, after all, converted by Paul, patriarch of Aquileia, and was a friend of Felix, subsequently Bishop of Treviso: both of them opposed to the condemnation of the Three Chapters. He talks affectionately of them in the autobiographical section of the *Vita Martini*, written c. 575.⁶⁸ Although it may well be that Fortunatus did have imperial backing, his theological position is ambiguous enough for it to be unlikely that he had a special role to play in transmitting Justinian's religious position to the courts of Frankish kings. Or, if he did, his poem to Justin and Sophia is an indication that the Merovingians and their bishops had not been persuaded of the validity of the Emperor's doctrinal stance.

There is nothing to suggest that the Franks paid much attention to the continuing Aquileian schism after the 560s, though some clergy clearly remained opposed to the papal position.⁶⁹ One might guess that the apparent absence of interest was exacerbated by the arrival of the Lombards, which created problems

⁶³ Jaroslav Šašel, 'Il viaggio di Venanzio Fortunato e la sua attività in ordine alla politica bizantina', *Antichità altoadriatiche*, 19 (1981), 359–75.

⁶⁴ Venantius Fortunatus, *Appendix carminum* 2, in *Venance Fortunat, Poèmes*, III, 140–44.

⁶⁵ Venantius Fortunatus, *Appendix carminum* 2, in *Venance Fortunat, Poèmes*, III, 141–42, lines 23–48.

⁶⁶ Reydellet (*Venance Fortunat, Poèmes*, III, 142 n. 35) sees them as Monophysites; Judith W. George, *Venantius Fortunatus: A Latin Poet in Merovingian Gaul* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 64–65, sees them as bishops who had suffered as a result of the Three Chapters.

⁶⁷ Ernest Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. II: *De la disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476–565)*, publiée par Jean-Remy Palanque (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1949), pp. 832–34. Reydellet (*Venance Fortunat, Poèmes*, I, pp. xv–xvi n. 29) assesses the evidence for this theory.

⁶⁸ Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Martini*, 4, in *Oeuvres: Venance Fortunat*, vol. IV: *La vie de saint Martin*, ed. and trans. by Solange Quesnel (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2002), lines 656–67 (p. 99, with n. 90, p. 170); for the date, p. xvi.

⁶⁹ Gregory, *Ep.* VIII, 4, pp. 518–21.

for the popes, and indeed for Frankish interests in the Alps. On the other hand, the newcomers also prompted the papacy to seek help from the Franks as early as the days of Pope Pelagius II (579–90).⁷⁰ Communication between the papacy and the Frankish kingdoms comes more firmly into view in the days of Gregory the Great. Here the position of the Bishops of Arles as middlemen was important, but so too, increasingly, the role of the papal *vicedominus* in Provence was crucial. We can trace Gregory the Great's appointment of Candidus to the office in 595,⁷¹ and can see something of the Pope's interests in the Frankish court in the correspondence relating to the new *vicedominus*. In his turn Candidus helped facilitate the journey of Augustine through Francia. At the same time the Pope used the mission to England as an opportunity to promote his own interests, not only with regard to the mission, but also to the matter of the reform of the Frankish Church, as well as the more mundane issue of Candidus's position.⁷² Meanwhile, the contacts fostered by Augustine's mission also prompted Brunhild and her favoured bishop, Syagrius of Autun, to start lobbying for the latter to be rewarded with the grant of the pallium.⁷³ Nor is it only in the Augustinian mission and the spin-offs associated with it that we can see contacts developing between the papacy and Gaul. In directly theological matters there is the Pope's intervention in the activities of Serenus of Marseilles, which has been seen as central to the development of a western approach to the question of religious images.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ *Ep. 9, Epp Aevi Merov.*, pp. 448–49.

⁷¹ Gregory, *Ep. VI*, 5, pp. 372–73; Ian Wood, 'Augustine and Gaul', in *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), pp. 68–82 (p. 75).

⁷² Wood, 'Augustine and Gaul'; Wood, 'Augustine's Journey', *Canterbury Cathedral Journal*, 92 (1998), 28–44.

⁷³ Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, p. 268; Wood, 'Augustine's Journey', p. 39; Wood, 'Augustine and Gaul', p. 69. For a general survey of the impact of Gregory's interest in Gaul, see Bruno Judic, 'L'influence de Grégoire le Grand dans la Provence du VII^e siècle', in *L'Eglise et la mission au VI^e siècle: La mission d'Augustin de Cantorbéry et les Eglises de Gaule sous l'impulsion de Grégoire le Grand*, ed. by Christophe de Dreuille, Actes du colloque d'Arles de 1998 (Paris: Cerf, 2000), pp. 89–120.

⁷⁴ Celia Chazelle, 'Pictures, Books and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles', *Word and Image*, 6 (1990), 138–53; Chazelle, 'Memory, Instruction, Worship: "Gregory's" Influence on Early Medieval Doctrines of the Artistic Image', in *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*, ed. by John Cavadini (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), pp. 181–215; Robert A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 175–76. Also see Judic, 'L'influence de Grégoire le Grand', pp. 89–120.

Yet, despite this activity, there is just one passing comment in one letter to suggest that Gregory was aware of any Frankish concerns relating to the Three Chapters⁷⁵ — and this despite Gregory's dealings with the Lombard court over the issue. The only other evidence that might shed some light on awareness that schism continued is Columbanus's letter to Pope Boniface IV. Columbanus stated bluntly that the papacy had been lax: *Vigila itaque, quaeso, papa, vigila, et iterum dico, vigila; quia forte non bene vigilavit Vigilius* ('Therefore be vigilant, I beg you, Father, and again I say be vigilant; because as it happened Vigilius was not truly vigilant'). By his actions at the Fifth Ecumenical Council Pope Vigilius had, according to the Irishman, favoured Eutyches, Nestorius, and Dioscorus.⁷⁶ Of course the letter was written in 613, the year after the Irishman's move from Francia to Italy.⁷⁷ Moreover, he was writing, as he makes clear, on behalf of the Lombard king, Agilulf,⁷⁸ who, we may assume, was concerned in one way or another with the Aquileian schism, despite his personal espousal of Arianism. The Irishman's letter thus reflects a specific situation at the Lombard royal court, and one should say instantly that there is no evidence to suggest that Columbanus had come across the issue of the Three Chapters and its aftermath before his arrival in Italy.

On the other hand it is not impossible that he had heard while still in Francia of the problems caused by Justinian's condemnation of Theodore and of certain works of Theodoret and Ibas. As we have seen, the affair of the Three Chapters had rather more repercussions in the Merovingian kingdoms than is generally recognized. And, as Gregory the Great acknowledged, there were still schismatics in Francia in 597.⁷⁹ Moreover, like that of the Frankish episcopate, and of Venantius Fortunatus, Columbanus's own stance is not exactly clear. Vigilius's lack of vigilance could either relate to his final acceptance of the decrees of Chalcedon, with their condemnation of the Three Chapters (my own preferred

⁷⁵ Gregory, *Ep.* VIII, 4, pp. 518–21.

⁷⁶ Columbanus, *Ep.* 5. 10, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, ed. by G. S. M. Walker, *Scriptores latini Hibernia*, 2 (Dublin: Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, 1957), pp. 46–49.

⁷⁷ The date is from Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, p. xxxviii.

⁷⁸ Columbanus, *Ep.* 5. 8, 17, pp. 44–45, 54–57. See Donald Bullough, 'The Career of Columbanus', in *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, ed. by Michael Lapidge (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 1–28 (pp. 24–25).

⁷⁹ Gregory, *Ep.* VIII, 4, pp. 518–21.

reading),⁸⁰ or to his earlier refusal to cooperate with Justinian. Since Columbanus lumps Nestorius and Eutyches together, it is impossible to decide whether he thought that the Pope had conceded too much to the Monophysites or the Nestorians.

The Augustinian mission and its results meant that there was an increased stream of individuals passing through northern Francia to Rome. There were those involved in the ongoing mission in England and those seeking consecration to the new archbishopric of Canterbury. Increasingly too there were pilgrims, from England as from Francia. And there was also a growing number seeking papal privileges, especially after the concession made to Columbanus's foundation of Bobbio by Pope Honorius in 628.⁸¹

Yet for all this there is little to suggest that there was a radical change in the way papal doctrine was spread. As we have seen, Vigilius went out of his way to secure support for his opposition to Constantinople in the 540s, and, having changed sides, he left the papacy under Pelagius to justify its new position. Pelagius's letters provide information on papal links with Francia that does not fall far short of that in Gregory the Great's later Register. That Pope Martin canvassed support against Monothelitism in 649 is absolutely clear from the ninth-century life of Amandus by Milo, who fortunately transcribed the Pope's letter into his work of hagiography.⁸² Apart from providing Amandus with an account of the revival of Monothelitism under Paul II, patriarch of Constantinople, Martin also sent a copy of the *gesta* of the Lateran synod. He appealed to Amandus to condemn the heresy and to invite the other bishops of Francia to do so, too, and he also asked him to encourage the Frankish king Sigibert III to send an episcopal legation to Rome. How much the Frankish episcopate actually did is unclear: the Council of Chalon-sur-Saône intriguingly begins with a reiteration of Nicea and Chalcedon. As we have seen, the doctrinal statement at the beginning of the fifth Council of Orléans in 549 was undoubtedly significant: the same is likely to have been the case in the Council of Chalon. But we cannot date the council more

⁸⁰ This is also the reading of Herrin, *Formation of Christendom*, p. 124.

⁸¹ Ian Wood, 'Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius: *Diplomata* and the *Vita Columbanii*', in *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History: Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. by Alexander Callander Murray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 99–120.

⁸² Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2, pp. 452–56. On Martin, see Herrin, *Formation of Christendom*, pp. 252–59; also Catherine Cubitt, 'The Lateran Council of 649 and the Western Successor States' (forthcoming).

closely than to the years 647–53.⁸³ The bishops at Chalon, in any case, were subjects of Clovis II, whereas the monarch to whom Amandus was subject was Sigibert. Perhaps there was also an east Frankish council for which we have no evidence.⁸⁴

Equally intriguing is the question of why Pope Martin should have written to Amandus, who in institutional terms was certainly not the senior bishop in the Austrasian kingdom. One possible solution to this may be found in the Frank's own commitment to the cult of St Peter. The so-called *Vita prima* of Amandus recounts two pilgrimages to the eternal city.⁸⁵ Neither of these journeys is dated, but one may wonder whether Martin chose Amandus to be the recipient of the canons of the Lateran Council either because he had met him, or because he knew of his devotion to St Peter.⁸⁶ If this were the case, it would point once again to the absence of any regular means by which the papacy broadcast its theological position throughout the West.

At the same time it is worth noting that Amandus was not the only Merovingian cleric to travel to Rome during Martin's pontificate. Wandregisel was another. It would seem that he took the place of Bishops Eligius and Audoin, who had been delegated to go to Rome by the Council of Chalon.⁸⁷ Wandregisel's nephew would later return to the papal city for books and relics.⁸⁸ Although the Abbot's mission to Rome has to be pieced together from scattered evidence, much of it from later centuries, it would seem that it was concerned with the Monothelete crisis. It thus fits alongside the evidence that we have for Pope Martin's contacts with Amandus.

The evidence for Frankish awareness of papal theology consistently reflects the importance of individual contacts and initiatives, which could be considerable,

⁸³ Chalon-sur-Saône, I, in SC, 354, pp. 550–51; Pontal, *Synoden*, pp. 193–97, esp. p. 195 n. 53. A. Borias, 'Saint Wandrille et la crise monothélite', *Revue Bénédictine*, 97 (1987), 42–67 (p. 59), dates the council more specifically to 650.

⁸⁴ Borias, 'Saint Wandrille et la crise monothélite', p. 59.

⁸⁵ Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 6–7, 10, pp. 433–34, 435.

⁸⁶ Edouard de Moreau, *Saint Amand* (Louvain: Editions du Museum Lessianum, 1927), pp. 97–106, 189–92.

⁸⁷ Borias, 'Saint Wandrille et la crise monothélite', pp. 60–63, citing *Vita Eligii*, I, 33, in *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici*, vol. II, ed. by Bruno Krusch, MGH, *SrM*, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1902), pp. 634–741 (pp. 689–90).

⁸⁸ Borias, 'Saint Wandrille et la crise monothélite', pp. 53, 66; *Vita secunda Wandregisili*, III, 15, *Acta Sanctorum*, July (22), V (Paris: Apud Victorem Palmé, 1868), pp. 276–77.

especially in times of crisis. Thus, both the Three Chapters and the Monothelete crises prompted very specific initiatives on the part of the papacy, and indeed others like the clergy of Milan, in search of support. One could point equally to the use made of Augustine's mission by Gregory the Great: while Augustine and his companions were supported by the well-established papal institutions in Provence, the missionaries themselves gave Gregory the opportunity to push for the reform of the Frankish Church.⁸⁹ On the other hand, the evidence suggests that outside certain periods in which the papacy was particularly active for some specific reason, the dissemination of information from Rome to Francia was usually haphazard and could lead to large areas of misunderstanding and ignorance. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that at one moment one finds evidence for up-to-date knowledge of papal views — as well as indications of the precise manner by which particular information was transmitted — and at other moments one finds confusion. A similar pattern can, in fact, be perceived across the whole of what had been the *oikoumene*. The failure of unity was in part a matter of intellectual disagreement, but it was also a structural failure. The Church had failed to unite on matters of belief, but equally its leading figures had failed to institute a mechanism whereby beliefs could efficiently, and without fail, be transmitted to every micro-Christendom.

⁸⁹ Gregory, *Ep.* XI, 45, pp. 942–43.

HERESY IN SECUNDUS AND PAUL THE DEACON

Walter Pohl

‘Ambiguity, silence and obfuscation were essential tactics in the dispute’; this is what Robert Markus has observed about the schism of the Three Chapters.¹ Paul the Deacon’s *Historia Langobardorum*, although written a century after the end of the schism, makes no exception.² What Paul writes about the schism, and about Lombard Arianism, is patchy and ambiguous.³

¹ Robert A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 136.

² Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Ludwig Bethmann and Georg Waitz, MGH, *SrLI* (Hannover: Hahn, 1878), pp. 12–187 (henceforth abbreviated as *HL*), and in *Paolo Diacono, Storia dei Longobardi*, ed. by Lidia Capo, 4th edn (Milan: Mondadori, 1998). A new English translation by Joan Ferris is in preparation for the Liverpool University Press series, *Translated Texts for Historians*. On Paul, see Walter Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History: Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 329–431; Walter Pohl, ‘Paulus Diaconus und die *Historia Langobardorum*: Text und Tradition’, in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. by Georg Scheibelreiter and Anton Scharer, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 32 (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 1994), pp. 375–405. Also see Pohl, ‘Paolo Diacono e la costruzione dell’identità longobarda’, in *Paolo Diacono: Uno scrittore fra tradizione longobarda e rinnovamento carolingio*, ed. by Paolo Chiesa, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Cividale del Friuli, Udine, 6–9 maggio 1999 (Udine: Forum, 2000), pp. 413–26, and many other contributions in the same volume; and *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli altomedievale (sec. VI–X): Atti del XIV Congresso internazionale di studi sull’alto Medioevo, Cividale del Friuli, Bottenicco di Moimacco, 24–29 settembre 1999*, Atti dei congressi, 14 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 2001).

³ ‘I silenzi del diacono’ have become a kind of topos in Italian scholarship, and his treatment of heresy in the Lombard kingdom serves as an example: Elio Bartolini, ‘I silenzi del diacono’, in Bartolini, *Paolo Diacono, Storia dei Longobardi*, 2nd edn (Milan: Editori Associati, 1990), pp. i–ix (p. viii); Roberta Cervani, ‘La fonte tridentina della *Historia Langobardorum* di Paolo Diacono’,

This may be surprising as Paul was one of the leading intellectuals of his time and won Charlemagne's confidence not least as an authority in questions of faith. The illustrious monk of Montecassino was commissioned to compile a homiletic collection, which enjoyed wide circulation in the Carolingian period, and a compendium of Gregory the Great's letters, not to mention his *Life of Gregory* and his *History of the Bishops of Metz*.⁴ However, Paul should not simply be seen as having transmitted some of the high standards of Italian liturgy and theology to a Frankish Church in desperate need of reform, as has often been assumed.⁵ The transfer of knowledge between Italy and the Frankish kingdom in the late eighth century was a complex process.⁶

Paul's position was often quite eclectic. He has variously been styled, by modern historians, as fervent churchman, Lombard nationalist, admirer of Charlemagne, or nostalgic of a Germanic past.⁷ But the very dissent on Paul's outlook shows that it was certainly more complex than that. Paul the Deacon

Atti dell'Accademia Roveretana degli Agiati, 236 (1986), 97–103 (p. 102); cf. Gustavo Vinay, *Alto Medioevo latino: Conversazioni e no* (Naples: Guida, 1978), pp. 125–49.

⁴ Friedrich Wiegand, *Das Homiliarium Karls des Großen auf seine ursprüngliche Gestalt hin untersucht* (Leipzig: Deichert, 1897); Hartmann Grisar, 'Die Gregorbiographie des Paulus Diakonus in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt nach italienischen Handschriften', in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 11 (1887), 158–73; Claudio Azzara, 'La figura di Gregorio Magno nell'opera di Paolo Diacono', in *Paolo Diacono*, ed. by Chiesa, pp. 29–38; Luca Castaldi, 'Nuovi testimoni della *Vita Gregorii* di Paolo Diacono (BHL 3639)', in *ibid.*, pp. 75–126.

⁵ Yitzhak Hen, 'Paul the Deacon and the Frankish liturgy', in *Paolo Diacono*, ed. by Chiesa, pp. 205–22.

⁶ Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); *Il futuro dei Longobardi: L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno: Saggi*, ed. by Carlo Bertelli and Gian Pietro Brogiolo (Milan: Skira; Brescia: Comune di Brescia, Civici musei d'arte e storia, 2000).

⁷ 'Fascino dell'eroismo tutto germanico': Stefano Cingolani, *Le Storie dei Longobardi: Dall'Origine a Paolo Diacono* (Rome: Viella, 1995), p. 171; 'teutone arrabbiato': Piero Silverio Leicht, 'Paolo Diacono e gli altri scrittori delle vicende d'Italia nell'età carolingia', in *Atti del II Congresso di Studi Longobardi* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1953), pp. 57–74 (pp. 70–71); 'fieramente longobardo': Dante Bianchi, 'L'epitafio di Ilderico e la leggenda di Paolo Diacono', *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 131/32 (1954/55), 56–115 (p. 56); 'spirito nazionalistico': Bruno Luiselli, 'La società longobardica del secolo VIII e Paolo Diacono storiografo tra romanizzazione e nazionalismo longobardico', in *Paolo Diacono, Storia dei Longobardi*, ed. by Antonio Zanella (Milan: Rizzoli, 1991), pp. 5–48. Christian rather than Lombard: John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, *The Barbarian West, 400–1000* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), p. 43; Goffart, *Narrators*, p. 429.

knew Lombard and Frankish courts, was a deacon and a monk, a man of letters and a political adviser in the service of several princes; he had witnessed the fall of the Lombard kingdom, the failure of the Rotgaud rebellion in which his brother had been involved, and the rise of Charlemagne. Rather than taking a partisan approach, his *History* demonstrates that good or bad could be found on all sides. The author balances past and present tensions, sometimes using elaborate narrative strategies, but often also refraining from comment or re-elaboration, simply letting his sources speak.⁸ His often faithful rendering of his sources can be demonstrated where we still have the texts he used, for example the *Histories* of Gregory of Tours or the *Origo gentis Langobardorum*.

The treatment of the Three Chapters schism in the *Historia Langobardorum* is a case in which Paul had to deal with many contradictions and conflicting loyalties. The patriarchs of Aquileia (now resident in his home town of Cividale) had championed the schismatic side; Lombard kings (some of whose successors he had served) had supported it; the popes (whose primacy he advocated) had played an ambiguous role; Gregory the Great (whom he admired) had opposed the Aquileian side in the schism; and Byzantine emperors (whose legitimacy he acknowledged) had caused the rift in the first place. On the other hand, the dogmatic and theological questions that mattered in Paul's own time were not linked with the Three Chapters. His sources must have made it difficult to understand the thrust of the debate. Unlike the elaborate argument used in Constantinople or Africa (for instance in the treatises by Pelagius or Facundus), the Italian debate of the later sixth century was rather unspecific.⁹ The defenders of the Three Chapters were averse to any tampering with the Council of Chalcedon which had become a symbol of orthodox identity. Consequently, the orthodox side maintained that no issues of faith were involved, but just judgements about single persons.¹⁰

⁸ Pohl, 'Paulus Diaconus'.

⁹ Pelagius, *In defensione trium capitulorum: texte latine du manuscrit aurelianensis 73 (70)*, ed. by Robert Devréese, ST, 57 (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 1932); Facundus, *Pro defensione trium capitulorum*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. by Jean-Marie Clément and Roland Vander Plaetse, CCSL, 90A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974), pp. 1–398. But see the letter edited by Claire Sotinel, *Rhétorique de la faute et pastorale de la réconciliation dans la lettre apologétique contre Jean de Ravenne: un texte inédit de la fin du VI^e siècle*, Collection de l'École française de Rome (Rome: École française de Rome, 1994).

¹⁰ Cesare Alzati, "Pro sancta fide, pro dogma patrum": La tradizione dogmatica delle chiese italiciane di fronte alla questione dei tre capitoli. Caratteri dottrinali e implicazioni ecclesiologiche dello scisma', in Alzati, *Ambrosiana Ecclesia: Studi su la chiesa milanese e l'ecumene cristiana fra tarda antichità e medioevo*, Archivio Ambrosiano, 65 (Milan: NED, 1993), pp. 97–130 (p. 109).

Several passages in Paul's *Historia Romana* deal with the early stages of the schism, but they neither explain nor identify it; they just recount the conflicts the popes had with Justinian and Theodora.¹¹ The source for all these accounts is the *Liber Pontificalis*, which has more detail but gives no indication what the heresies were that Justinian, and even more so Theodora, favoured and that the popes opposed at the time.¹² Michael Herren has recently attempted to reconstruct the theological position that is at the basis of Paul's treatment of heresies.¹³ But Paul's fragmentary account of the schism does not show a clear position at all. As will be argued below, the contradictions between the relevant passages in his *Historia Langobardorum* are mainly due to the polyphony of his sources.

Most interesting in Paul's treatment of the schism is the fact that some of it is derived from the *Historiola* of Secundus of Trento, a lost contemporary work written by one of the most influential churchmen in the service of the Lombard king and queen, Agilulf and Theodelinda.¹⁴ Paul repeatedly acknowledges the *Historiola* as his source.¹⁵ He also refers to the personal fate of Secundus. On Easter Sunday, 7 April 603, Adaloald, the son of King Agilulf and Queen Theodelinda, was baptized by Secundus, *servo Christi de Tridento*.¹⁶ Secundus died at Trento in

¹¹ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, XVI, 13, 18, 21, ed. by Hans Droysen, MGH, *SrG*, 49 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1879), pp. 131, 133–34.

¹² *Le Liber pontificalis*, text, introd., and commentary by Louis Duchesne, 2 vols (Paris: E. Thorin, 1886–92), I, 60–61 (Popes Silverius and Virgilius) (henceforth cited as *LP*).

¹³ Michael W. Herren, 'Theological Aspects of the Writings of Paul the Deacon', in *Paolo Diacono*, ed. by Chiesa, pp. 223–36. His conclusion that Paul 'sided with the pro-Fifth Council Greeks' out of 'sympathy for Greek theology and policies' adds a surprising new facet to the many attempts to detect 'where Paulus's deepest loyalty lay' (pp. 234–35). It is, however, strangely at odds with the evidence presented by the author (and discussed below in this article).

¹⁴ Walter Pohl, 'Secundus von Trient', in *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, vol. XXVII, ed. by Johannes Hoops and others, 2nd rev. and expanded edn (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004), pp. 638–39; Gian Piero Bognetti, 'S. Maria foris portas di Castelseprio e la storia religiosa dei Longobardi', in Bognetti, *L'età longobarda*, 4 vols (Milan: Giuffrè, 1966–68), II, 272–83, about the role of Secundus at the court of Theodelinda. See also Claudio Azzara, 'Il regno longobardo in Italia e i Tre Capitoli', in this volume.

¹⁵ *HL*, IV, 40: 'Secundus servus Christi [...], qui usque ad sua tempora succinctam de Langobardorum gestis composuit historiolum'; *HL*, III, 29 (on a battle against the Franks): 'Mirandum sane est cur Secundus, qui aliqua de Langobardorum gestis scripsit, hanc tantam eorum victoriam praeterierit.'

¹⁶ *HL*, IV, 27: 'Tunc etiam baptizatus est praenominatus puer Adaloald, filius Agilulfi regis, in Sancto Iohanne in Modicia, et susceptus de fonte est a Secundo servo Christi de Tridento, cuius saepe fecimus mentionem. Fuit autem festi pascalis dies eo tempore septimo idus Aprilis.' Easter Sunday on 7 April was in 603.

the month of March, probably in 612.¹⁷ The sharp decline in information at Paul's disposal for the following decades makes it clear how much he had relied on Secundus for the preceding period.

It is very probable that the *Secundus abbas* in the letter written to Theodelinda by Gregory the Great in November 603 is the same man.¹⁸ In this letter, Gregory congratulates Theodelinda for the Catholic baptism given to her son Adaloald. And he apologizes for not yet having more subtly answered the letter by Abbot Secundus in which he had asked about the Three Chapters. It is very unlikely that in the same year, one *servus Christi* Secundus (who also wrote a history of the Lombards) baptized Theodelinda's son whereas another Secundus *abbas* composed theological letters to the Pope in her name. Theodelinda had transmitted the news of the baptism in the same letter in which she asked the Pope to respond to Secundus.¹⁹

It is also quite likely that Secundinus, *servus Dei inclausus*, who had written to the Pope about the Three Chapters in 599, was the same man.²⁰ What makes an

¹⁷ *HL*, IV, 40: 'Sequenti quoque mense martio defunctus est apud Tridentum Secundus servus Christi, de quo saepe iam diximus.' Secundus died in March, and the death of the Frankish king Theudebert II (May 612) follows in the same chapter.

¹⁸ Gregory, *Ep.* XIV, 12, *Registrum epistolarum*, ed. by Dag Norberg, 2 vols, CCSL, 140–140A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), 140A, pp. 1082–83. Gregory's letters henceforth cited from this edition unless otherwise indicated.

¹⁹ Cf. Gregory, *Ep.* XIV, 12, pp. 1082–83.

²⁰ Gregory, *Ep.* IX, 148, pp. 698–704. In the eighth century, this letter was interpolated with passages dealing with other matters (penitence of lapsed priests and the veneration of images: CCSL, 140A, *Appendix*, X), and the discussion of the Three Chapters controversy was abbreviated, obviously because it was not of immediate interest anymore. In this form, the letter was used by a Frankish bishop against iconoclasm at a Roman synod in 769: Michael McCormick, 'Textes, images et iconoclisme dans le cadre des relations entre Byzance et l'Occident carolingien', in *Testo e immagine nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 41 (Spoleto: Centro di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1994), pp. 95–158 (p. 132). Gregory's letter does not establish any connection of Secundinus with the Lombard kingdom, but shows that his concerns were not those of a simple monk — among other things, Secundinus had enquired about the position of the eastern Church toward the Three Chapters, and about the fates of children who died before baptism. The gift of a warm coat to protect against *Arcturi frigus* mentioned at the end of the letter would fit the Alpine environment of Secundus's monastery at Trento. There are a number of options to explain the use of the diminutive form of the name, for instance a mistake in the address, Gregory's slightly patronizing rhetoric, or the existence of an older Secundus in the monastery at Trento who died soon after 599. When Secundus became abbot the diminutive may have been dropped. For the identification: Alzati, "Pro sancta fide", p. 99. Alternatively, Secundinus could be identified with the Secundus *servus Dei*, deacon of the

identification of Secundus and Secundinus attractive is the close connection between Gregory's two responses. Both avoid any insinuation of heresy against the author of the letter that the Pope had received and only subtly hint to the sender's doubts. Both underline the Pope's unwavering Chalcedonian faith. In both, Gregory excuses himself for not being able to give the required substantial answer because of his gout. Secundinus had required a *libellus exhortatorius* stating the position of the Roman see in the debate. In his letter dated May 599, Gregory's answer was rather elaborate.²¹ Obviously, Secundinus had written that the eastern Church had strayed from Chalcedonian orthodoxy, and that the Three Chapters had been an integral part of the Council of Chalcedon, so condemning them meant holding both the council and Pope Leo I, who had agreed to it, in contempt. In answering Secundinus's doubt, *dubitatio*, Gregory argued that the Three Chapters were not part of the *causae generales* ('general cases') discussed at Chalcedon, but an appendix dealing with special conflicts of bishops, *specialia certamina episcoporum*, and took Ibas's letter, transmitted *in extrema parte synodi* ('in the last part of the synod') but contradicting its anti-Nestorian decisions, as an example.²² The Pope's main contention, however, was that the Three Chapters only served as a pretext to those who wanted to escape the discipline of the Church. In 603, Gregory acknowledged at Theodelinda's request 'that we should answer

church of Ravenna, in Gregory, *Ep.* VI, 24, who served as a messenger between Rome and Ravenna together with the papal notary Castorius in the winter of 595/96 and was asked to bring a *spatha* from Ravenna to Rome. But it is hard to imagine that a deacon of the church of Ravenna, which spearheaded the repressive measures against the Aquileian defenders of the Three Chapters, could have written to Gregory about his doubts in the matter.

²¹ Gregory, *Ep.* IX, 148, pp. 698–704: 'In eis vero tua a me dilectio petere studuit ut ad hanc libellum exhortatorium scribere deberem. Sed scire te necesse est, fili carissime, quia tantis podagrae doloribus tantisque curarum tumultibus premor, ut, quamuis numquam me aliquid fuisse reminiscar, ualde tamen me uideam non esse qui fuerim [. . .]. Valde autem libenter accepi quod tua me caritas de sua dubitatione requisiiuit, an Orientis ecclesiae fidem atque doctrinam sanctae memoriae Leonis sequantur, ne fortasse earum sensus inter semetipsas pro trium capitulorum defensione diuisus sit' (pp. 698–99, 700). After assuring him of the unity of the eastern Church in the faith of Chalcedon, Gregory admonishes Secundinus: 'Vnde necesse est ut dulcissima mihi tua dilectio in hoc, quod praecipue in bonis moribus uiuit, quod se per abstinentiam affligit, quod doctrinae Dei uehementius insistit, hoc studiosus cogitet, ne errorem scismaticorum sequens a sancta uniuersali ecclesia diuisa posset inueniri. Et quid tot labores proderunt, se in unitate fidei inuenta non fuerit, quae ante Dei omnipotentis oculos in bonis actibus animam praecipue custodit?' (p. 701). This is clearly written to a defender of the Three Chapters, subtly avoiding to accuse him directly of heresy but warning him against the error of the schismatics.

²² Gregory, *Ep.* IX, 148, pp. 698–704.

more subtly to what our dearest son, Abbot Secundus, wrote'.²³ He might be referring to the Secundinus letter written in 599, or to a later one. With the same messenger that took the letter to the queen, Gregory sent the Acts of the Fifth Council of Constantinople to Secundus and remarked that by reading them he would notice that all the critics of the apostolic see and the Catholic Church were wrong.²⁴

Even under the unlikely assumption that one Secundus and one Secundinus independently wrote to Pope Gregory within four years with the same agenda, one thing is clear: Secundus the historian, to whom Paul owed much of his information about the period, was also the principal defender of the Three Chapters in the service of the Lombard court.²⁵ As we only have Gregory's answers, we can merely guess that Secundus was more diplomatic and readier to compromise than the schismatic bishops in the diocese of Aquileia. Gregory did not treat Secundus as a hard-core heretic but as someone in doubt who could be won over by reasonable argument. Of course, this was in line with the diplomatic caution that the Pope applied in his attempts to come to terms with the religious policy of the Lombard kingdom.²⁶ This might help explain why Gregory had not sent a treatise

²³ Gregory, *Ep.* XIV, 12, pp. 1082–83: 'Illud autem quod excellentia uestra scripsit ut dilectissimo filio nostro Secundo abbati ad ea quae scripsit respondere subtilius deberemus, quis vel illius petitionem vel uestra desideria, quae multis esse profutura cognoscit, si aegritudo non obsisteret, duceret postponenda? Sed tanta nos podagrae infirmitas tenuit [. . .]. Sed si omnipotente Deo disponente conualero, ad cuncta quae mihi scripsit subtiliter respondebo. Eam tamen synodum quae piae memoriae Iustiniani tempore facta est per latores praesentium transmissi, ut praedictus dilectissimus filius meus ipsam relegens agnoscat quia falsa sunt omnia, quae contra apostolicam sedem uel catholicam ecclesiam audierat. Absit enim nos cuiuslibet haeretici sensum recipere uel a tomo sanctae memoriae Leonis prodecessoris nostri in aliquo deviare.' Again, Gregory avoids any direct accusations of heresy but instead warns Secundus not to side with the heretics.

²⁴ Gregory, *Ep.* XIV, 12, pp. 1082–83.

²⁵ Walter Pohl, 'Gregorio Magno e il regno dei Longobardi', in *Gregorio Magno, l'impero e i regni*, ed. by Claudio Azzara (forthcoming); also see Carole Straw, 'Much Ado About Nothing: Gregory the Great's Apology to the Istrians', in this volume.

²⁶ Cf. Jeffrey Richards, *Consul of God: The Life and Times of Gregory the Great* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980); Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Claudio Azzara, *L'ideologia del potere regio nel papato altomedievale: secoli VI–VIII* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1997); Vera Paronetto, 'I Longobardi nell'epistolario di Gregorio Magno', in *Longobardi e Lombardia: aspetti di civiltà longobardia*, Atti del VI Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1980), pp. 559–70; Sofia Boesch Gajano, *Gregorio Magno – alle origini del medioevo* (Rome: Viella, 2004); Conrad Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

against the schismatics that he had at hand: the letter he had originally written for Pope Pelagius II to Elias of Aquileia and the other Istrian bishops.²⁷ He had sent the 'book that my predecessor of holy memory, Pope Pelagius, had written about this', probably to the bishops under the see of Aquileia, in 592.²⁸ But in 599, he must have judged it too harsh for his purpose. Already two years later, he had proceeded much more cautiously. Gregory had sent a letter to Theodelinda. Archbishop Constantius of Milan-Genoa refused to pass it on to the Queen and advised Gregory not to mention the Fifth Council at all. In July 594, the Pope thanked the Bishop for his advice, and followed it in rewriting the letter.²⁹ The failure of the letter to the Aquileian bishops sent two years before and the delicate political situation with the Lombards had made him mellow his initially intransigent stance in the schism; the Lombard king Agilulf had marched on Rome in the

²⁷ Pelagius II, *Ep. 3, Epistolae Pelagii Iunioris Papae ad episcopos Histriae*, in *Gregorii I papae Registrum epistolarum*, vol. II: *Libri VIII–XIV*, ed. by Paul Ewald and Ludo M. Hartmann, MGH, *Epp.* 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), *Appendix*, III, pp. 442–67; and *ACO*, IV.2, pp. 10–32. The authorship of Gregory is argued by Paul Meyvaert, 'A Letter of Pope Pelagius II Composed by Gregory the Great', in *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*, ed. by John C. Cavadini (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), pp. 94–116.

²⁸ 'Librum quem ex hac re sanctae memoriae decessor meus Pelagius papa scripserat': Gregory, *Ep. II*, 43, pp. 131–32 = *Ep. II*, 49, *Registrum epistolarum*, ed. by Paul Ewald and Ludo M. Hartmann, MGH, *Epp.* 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1887), pp. 150–51, where the doubtful address is emended as 'to all Iberian bishops' ('universis episcopis per Hiberiam'), a version taken *ex codice nullius pretii*, as Dag Norberg (CCSL, 140, p. 131) remarks; others chose the emendation 'Istrian bishops': see Charles-Joseph Hefele, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, 11 vols (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907–52), III.1, 153. From the contents of the letter it becomes clear that the recipients were Italian schismatics recently subjected to repression from the orthodox side, which can only mean the Aquileian bishops. Gregory distances himself from the repressive measures but remarks candidly, 'Martyrem non facit poena sed causa, ut Sanctus Cyprianus dicit'. Cf. Meyvaert, 'Letter of Pope Pelagius II', p. 98; and Straw, 'Much Ado About Nothing', in this volume.

²⁹ Gregory, *Ep. IV*, 37, pp. 257–59: 'Quod autem scripsistis quia epistulam meam reginae Theodelindae transmittere minime uoluistis, pro eo quod in eo quinta synodus nominabatur, si eam exinde scandalizare posse credidistis, recte factum est ut minime transmitteretis. Vnde nunc ita facimus sicut uobis placuit, ut quattuor solummodo synodos laudaremus' (p. 258). Cf. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World*, p. 138; Walter Pohl, 'Deliberate Ambiguity – the Lombards and Christianity', in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, ed. by Guyda Armstrong and Ian Wood, International Medieval Research, 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 47–58. For the political context, see Walter Pohl, 'The Empire and the Lombards: Treaties and Negotiations in the Sixth Century', in *Kingdoms of the Empire: The Integration of Barbarians in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Pohl, Transformation of the Roman World, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 75–134 (pp. 104–06).

previous year. It was along the same lines that the Pope made excuses to Secundus and Theodelinda in 599 and 603 to avoid an embarrassing and potentially divisive argument, while by asking for a papal *libellus* Secundus had sought to bridge the schism by theological dialogue. The defenders of the Three Chapters obviously hoped that open debate would expose the contradictions in the papal position and lead to reunification of the Italian church along their lines. Soon after Secundus's death, Columbanus was to take a similar stance in his letter to Pope Boniface IV (608–15) when he called for a general synod to debate the schism.³⁰ Both instances show that Theodelinda's ecclesiastic policy was not aimed at establishing an autonomous, and schismatic, Lombard church;³¹ on the contrary, she aimed for unity achieved by theological debate.

What, then, does the *Historia Langobardorum* tell us about the schism? Three of the chapters deal directly with the Three Chapters. The first passage reports the succession of Pelagius II to the apostolic see and notes that he sent a 'rather useful

³⁰ Columbanus, *Ep. 5, Sancti Columbani Opera*, ed. by G. S. M. Walker, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, 2 (Dublin: Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, 1957), pp. 37–57. Cf. Carlo Guido Mor, 'San Colombano e la politica ecclesiastica di Agilulfo', in Mor, *Scritti di storia giuridica altomedievale* (Pisa: Pacini, 1977), pp. 605–14; Donald Bullough, 'The Career of Columbanus', in *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, ed. by Michael Lapidge (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 1–28 (pp. 23–28); Ian Wood, 'Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius: *Diplomata* and the *Vita Columbani*', in *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History: Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. by Alexander Callander Murray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 99–120; Piero Majocchi, 'La fondazione di Bobbio e la politica religiosa longobarda', in *La fondazione di Bobbio nello sviluppo delle comunicazioni tra Langobardia e Toscana nel Medioevo: Atti del Convegno internazionale*, ed. by Flavio G. Nuvolone, *Archivum Bobiense, Studia*, 3 (Bobbio: Associazione culturale amici di archivum Bobiense, 2000), pp. 35–56.

³¹ Many Italian researchers have assumed that Agilulf wanted to create a Tricapitoline 'national' church, for instance, Carlo Guido Mor, 'Contributi alla storia dei rapporti tra stato e Chiesa al tempo dei Longobardi: La politica ecclesiastica di Autari e Agilulfo', in Mor, *Scritti di storia giuridica altomedievale*, pp. 535–93; Bognetti, 'S. Maria foris portas', p. 283; Ottorino Bertolini, 'Riflessi politici delle controversie religiose con Bisanzio nelle vicende del secolo VII in Italia', in *Caratteri del secolo VII in Occidente*, 2 vols, *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano studi sull'alto medioevo*, 5 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1958), II, 746–52. For a critique of this opinion: Giovanni Tabacco, 'Milano in età longobarda', in *Milano e i Milanesi prima del Mille (VIII–X secolo)*, *Atti del X Congresso Internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1986), pp. 19–43 (p. 28); Alzati, "Pro sancta fide", p. 97. See also Azzara, 'Il regno longobardo', in this volume. For Theodelinda, see Ross Balzaretti, 'Theodelinda, Most Glorious Queen: Gender and Power in Lombard Italy', *Medieval History Journal*, 2 (1999), 183–207.

letter' (*epistolam satis utilem*), written by Gregory the Great as a young deacon, to the patriarch Elias of Aquileia, 'who did not want to *susplicere* the Three Chapters of the Council of Chalcedon (*nolenti tria capitula Calchidonensis synodi susplicere*).³² Paul's text is ambiguous. What exactly does *susplicere* mean? Did Elias not want to mistrust and suspect the Three Chapters? Or he did not want to respect them, a translation that would also be possible?³³ Crivellucci, and with him further Italian editors, have chosen the emendation *suscipere*, which corresponds much better with contemporary usage.³⁴ Both interpretations, 'respect' and 'accept', would mean that Paul had got it all wrong. In fact, Elias refused to condemn the Three Chapters.

As Paul Meyvaert has shown, the passage must refer to Pelagius's above-mentioned third letter to Elias.³⁵ Paul had revised a collection of Gregory's letters on commission by Adalhard of Corbie³⁶ and introduced some of them into his *History of the Lombards*. He could also have come across Pelagius's letter, although this would not explain how he knew it had been written by Gregory. Gregory himself referred to it as written by his predecessor.³⁷ The phrase *tria capitula*

³² *HL*, III, 20 (p. 103): 'Denique post Benedictum papam Pelagius Romanae ecclesiae pontifex absque iussione principis ordinatus est, eo quod Langobardi Romam per circuitum obsiderent, nec posset quisquam a Roma progredi. Hic Pelagius Heliae Aquileiensi episcopo, nolenti tria capitula Calchidonensis synodi suscipere/susplicere, epistolam satis utilem misit, quam beatus Gregorius, cum esset adhuc diaconus, conscripsit.'

³³ Herren, 'Theological Aspects', p. 231, translates 'to respect'.

³⁴ See Paolo Diacono, *Storia dei Longobardi*, ed. by Capo, p. 150, and p. 477 for a discussion of this choice; similarly, *Paolo Diacono: Storia dei Longobardi*, ed. by Zanella, p. 312. Bartolini, *Paolo Diacono, Storia dei Longobardi*, p. 122 follows Bethmann and Waitz (*susplicere*), but translates 'accettare' all the same. Paul himself uses the phrase *concilium suscipere* in *HL*, VI, 14 (see below).

³⁵ Pelagius II, *Ep.* 3, in MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, pp. 442–67; Meyvaert, 'Letter of Pope Pelagius II'. See also Azzara, 'La figura di Gregorio Magno', pp. 37–38.

³⁶ See Paul the Deacon, *Ep.* 12, *Epistolae*, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, MGH, *Epp.* 4.2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), p. 509. The letter does not specify that the collection was of Gregory's letters, neither that the Paulus that sent it was Paul the Deacon. Both identifications were established with some probability by Ludwig Bethmann, 'Paulus Diaconus Leben und Schriften', *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 10 (1851), 247–334 (p. 266). The collection is preserved in a St. Petersburg manuscript; see Wilhelm Peitz, *Das Register Gregors I: Beiträge zur Kenntnis des päpstlichen Kanzlei- und Registerwesens bis auf Gregor VII.* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1917), p. 46.

³⁷ Gregory, *Ep.* II, 43, pp. 131–32.

Calchidonensis synodi does not occur in the letter or indeed elsewhere in Gregory's correspondence. The defenders of the Fifth Council would not have spoken of the *tria capitula Calchidonensis synodi*, at least in a public statement; it was one of Gregory's main points that these were not really part of the synodal acts of Chalcedon. But the Pelagius letter may help with the meaning of *suscipere*. It uses the phrase *qui ut nihil se omni modo de Chalcedonense synodo suscipere, nisi de sola fide gestum fuerat, demonstraret*, that is, Pope Leo would accept the decisions of Chalcedon only in matters of faith.³⁸ The letter implies that what he would not accept, *suscipere*, were the Three Chapters, and that is what Paul's passage says, only Paul got it wrong because it was the Pope, and not Elias, who did not want to accept the Three Chapters — the correct way to put it would be *Pelagius [...] nolens tria capitula [...] suscipere*. Quite likely, Paul's passage was written by someone who knew the letter, and from a papal perspective, but at a time when it had become necessary to explain what the Three Chapters were. It cannot be taken from Secundus.³⁹ Secundus would never have judged the letter criticizing the heresy to be *satis utilem*. It remains obscure where Paul had the information from, whether he misquoted it or already found it jumbled. However that may be, it does not seem that he knew who the defenders and the rejectors of the Three Chapters actually were.

The next passage is written from a totally different point of view. Chapter III, 26, presents a straightforward partisan account of the pressure put on the patriarch Severus and some other bishops by the exarch and by Archbishop John of Ravenna:

In these days, when Elias, patriarch of Aquileia, had died after holding his holy office fifteen years, Severus succeeded him and undertook the management of the church. Smaragdus the patrician, coming from Ravenna to Grado, personally dragged him out of the church, and brought him with insults to Ravenna together with three other bishops from Istria, that is, John of Parentium (Poreč), Severus and Vindemius and also Antony, now an old man and defensor of the church. Threatening them with exile and inflicting violence, he compelled them to hold communion with John, the bishop of Ravenna, a condemner of the Three Chapters, who had separated from the communion of the Roman church at the time of Pope Vigilius and Pelagius. After the expiration of a year they

³⁸ Pelagius II, *Ep.* 3, in MGH, *Epp.* 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 452, line 19. As Pelagius wrote, 'Per ea quae piae memoriae Iustiniani principis temporibus acta sunt fraternitas vestra suspicatur sanctam Chalcedonensem synodum fuisse convulsam' (p. 451, lines 1–2); that is, Elias suspected Chalcedon had been reversed by Justinian's council at Constantinople.

³⁹ In *HL*, VI, 4, Paul uses the same words *satis utilis* for the letter written by Bishop Mansuetus of Pavia before the Sixth Ecumenical Council.

returned from Ravenna to Grado. And the people were not willing to hold communion with them nor did the other bishops receive them. The patrician Smaragdus became not unjustly possessed of a devil, and being succeeded by the patrician Romanus, returned to Constantinople. After these things a synod of ten bishops was held at Marano where they took back Severus, the patriarch of Aquileia, upon his giving a written confession of his error in taking communion at Ravenna with those who had condemned the Three Chapters. The names of the bishops who had withheld from this schism are these: Peter of Altino, Clarissimus, Ingenuinus of Sabiona, Agnellus of Trento, Junior of Verona, Horontius of Vicenza, Rusticus of Treviso, Fonteius of Feltre, Agnellus of Asolo, Laurentius of Belluno, Maxentius of Zuglio, and Adrian of Pula. But the following bishops held communion with the patriarch: Severus, John of Poreč, Patrisius, Vindemius and John.⁴⁰

The text leaves no doubt who the enemies were. The exarch Smaragdus is presented as justly plagued by a demon, and therefore soon recalled to Constantinople. The image of Bishop John of Ravenna is also more than negative: a rejector of the Three Chapters, and a bishop who had lapsed from union with the Roman church in the day of Popes Vigilius and Pelagius I. This is a thoroughly schismatic view, taking the initial papal refusal to accept damnation of the Three Chapters as the point of reference, from which both Ravenna and, later on, the popes themselves (but that is not made explicit in the text) had departed. Consequently, they were the heretics, and so were Severus and his colleagues who had been pressured into submission at Ravenna, while the other bishops present at the Synod of

⁴⁰ *HL*, III, 26, pp. 105–07 (trans. by William Dudley Foulke in *Paul the Deacon: History of the Lombards*, ed. by Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975, repr. 2003), pp. 131–33): ‘His diebus, defuncto Helia Aquilegensi patriarcha, postquam quindecim annos sacerdotium gesserat, Severus huic succedens regendam suscepit ecclesiam. Quem Smarac-dus patricius veniens de Ravenna in Gradus, per semet ipsum e basilica extrahens, Ravennam cum iniuria duxit cum aliis tribus ex Histria episcopis, id est Iohanne Parentino et Severo atque Vindemio, necnon etiam Antonio iam sene ecclesiae defensore. Quibus comminans exilia atque violentiam inferens, communicare compulit Iohanni Ravennati episcopo, trium capitulorum damnatori, qui a tempore papae Vigilii vel Pelagii a Romanae ecclesiae desciverat societate. Exempto vero anno, e Ravenna ad Grados reversi sunt. Quibus nec plebs communicare voluit, nec ceteri episcopi eos receperunt. Smarac-dus patricius a daemonio non iniuste correptus, successorem Romanum patricium accipiens, Constantinopolim remeavit. Post haec facta est sinodus decem episcoporum in Mariano, ubi receperunt Severum patriarcham Aquilegensem dantem libellum erroris sui, quia trium capitulorum damnatoribus communicarat Ravennae. Nomina vero episcoporum qui se ab hoc scismate cohibuerunt haec sunt: Petrus de Altino, Clarissimus [Concordiensis], Ingenuinus de Sabione, Agnellus Tridentinus, Iunior Veronensis, Horontius Vicentinus, Rusticus de Tarvisio, Fonteius Feltrinus, Agnellus de Acilo, Laurentius Bellunensis, Maxentius Iulienensis et Adrianus Polensis. Cum patriarcha autem communicaverunt isti episcopi: Severus, Parentinus Iohannes, Patricius, Vindemius et Iohannes.’

Marano in 591 were those who had withheld from the schism (*ab hoc scismate cohibuerunt*). The patriarch Severus had to hand over a *libellum erroris sui* and was again received into communion with the majority of the bishops of his metropolitan district.⁴¹

The chapter ends with the complete list of the bishops. The list coincides to a large extent with the subscriptions of a synod held at Grado between 572 and 577 under the patriarch Elias, which have been preserved in the acts of the Synod of Mantua in 827 where the conflict between Aquileia and Grado was discussed,⁴² and with the names in a letter of appeal to Emperor Maurice sent by those bishops of the Aquileian metropolitan district who were under Lombard rule in 591/92.⁴³ From these lists, we can also substitute the missing identifications of most of the bishops in Paul's passage.⁴⁴ The bishops under Roman rule, apart from Adrianus of Pola who seems to have escaped the *milites* sent by the exarch, had been taken to Ravenna, whereas the bishops under Lombard rule, who were the majority, had persisted in the schism. This foreshadows the Aquileian schism of the seventh century. But at Marano, the metropolitan province of Aquileia proved more coherent than either the church under Lombard or that under Byzantine rule. It

⁴¹ Cf. Rudolf Schieffer, 'Zur Beurteilung des norditalischen Dreikapitel-Schismas', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 87 (1976), 167–201 (p. 173 about Secundus and Paul the Deacon).

⁴² 47. *Concilium Mantuanum 827*, in *Concilia aevi Karolini*, vol. II, ed. by Albert Werminghoff, MGH, *Conc.*, 2.2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1908), pp. 583–89; and, with emendations after the manuscript Rome, Bibliotheca Vallicelliana, B 61, fol. 246', by Heinrich Berg, 'Bischöfe und Bischofssitze im Ostalpen- und Donaauraum vom 4. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert', in *Die Bayern und ihre Nachbarn*, ed. by Herwig Wolfram and Andreas Schwarcz, 2 vols, Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse, 179–80 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985), I, 61–108 (p. 79): 'His gestis apud nos habitis subscripserunt Martianus Opitargiensis, Leonianus Tyborniensis, Petrus Altinatis, Helias sanctae Aquileiensis aecclesiae patriarcha, Vindemius Cessensis, Virgulus Pataviensis, Iohannes Celeianensis, Clarissimus Concordiensis, Patricius Emolnensis, Hadrianus Polensis, Maxentius Iuliensis, Severus Tergestinus, Iohannes Parentinus, Aaron Avoriensis, Materninus Sabionensis, Flaminus Tridentinus, Vigilius Scaravansiensis, Laurentius Feltrinus, Martianus Petenatis.'

⁴³ *ACO*, IV, 2, pp. 132–34 (and p. xxiv); *Ep.* I, 16A, MGH, *Epp.*, 1, pp. 17–21. For the letter, see Giuseppe Cuscito, 'Aquileia e Bisanzio nella controversia dei Tre Capitoli', in *Aquileia e l'Oriente mediterraneo*, 2 vols (Aquileia: Centro di antichità altoadriatiche; Udine, Arte grafiche friulane, 1977), I, 231–62; Alzati, "Pro sancta fede", p. 109. On this letter, see too Azzara, 'Il regno longobardo', in this volume.

⁴⁴ Berg, 'Bischöfe', pp. 78–84. The identification of the sees by Eduard Schwartz, *ACO*, IV.2, p. xxiv, is outdated.

is interesting to note that Marano, the place of the synod where the schismatic position was re-established in the diocese of Aquileia, was on Byzantine territory; yet, the imperial authorities did not intervene.⁴⁵

There can be no doubt that Paul the Deacon has faithfully copied this chapter from the *Historiola* of Secundus, without setting its schismatic bias straight.⁴⁶ This tells us something about both authors. Most of the passages in Paul's History that demonstrably go back to the work of Secundus are succinct in the style of the late Roman *Chronica minora*. Indeed, it seems rather likely that Secundus followed an annalistic scheme, similar to the contemporary chronicles of John of Biclaro or Marius of Avenches.⁴⁷ Paul saw the History of Secundus as a work *de Langobardorum gestis*, just as he read Gregory of Tours as *historia Francorum*; but Secundus's work was hardly a full account of Lombard history.⁴⁸ In the context of a concise chronicle, the inclusion of a list of subscriptions from a regional synod may appear unusual. But the Bishop of Trento, Agnellus, had been among the intransigent supporters of the Three Chapters. Secundus of Trento, the man whom Gregory the Great hoped to convince by a mixture of flattery, apologies, and documents, surely was a dedicated follower of the schismatic movement. That he saw Ravenna as the main adversary, not Rome, was not uncommon among the defenders of the Three Chapters.⁴⁹ When Altino had been reconquered by the Byzantines in 590, Bishop Peter tried to negotiate directly with Gregory and asked the Pope to grant safe conduct from Byzantine authorities to come to Rome.⁵⁰ Another case in point is the letter against Archbishop John of Ravenna, written,

⁴⁵ Mor, 'Contributi alla storia dei rapporti tra stato e Chiesa al tempo dei Longobardi', p. 542.

⁴⁶ Peter Štih, 'O seznamu škofov v Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* III, 26', *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Rijeci, Supplement*, 1 (2001), 105–16, assumes that Paul had inserted the list of subscriptions from the acts of an otherwise unknown synod in Aquileia. Rather, it seems to form part of the narrative that cannot be Paul's own.

⁴⁷ Victor Tunnunensis, *Iohannes Biclarensis: Chronicon cum reliquiis ex Consularibus Caesaraugustanis – Chronicon*, ed. by Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, CCSL, 173A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002); *Marius Aventicensis: Chronicon*, ed. by W. Arndt (Leipzig, 1878).

⁴⁸ This has already been remarked by Ken Gardiner, 'Paul the Deacon and Secundus of Trento', in *History and Historians in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Brian Croke and Alanna M. Emmet (Sydney: Pergamon, 1983), pp. 147–53.

⁴⁹ Cf. Robert A. Markus, 'Ravenna and Rome, 554–604', *Byzantion*, 51 (1981), 566–78; also published in Markus, *From Augustine to Gregory the Great: History and Christianity in Late Antiquity*, Variorum Reprints (London: Variorum, 1983), XIV.

⁵⁰ Gregory, *Ep.* V, 56, pp. 359–60 (written in 595).

as Claire Sotinel has shown, before 595 by a cleric involved in the schism and addressed to Gregory.⁵¹

Even Paul must have been impressed by the array of bishops from his native patriarchate of Aquileia (in his day, the patriarch resided in his home town of Cividale), and by the rhetoric of orthodoxy employed by Secundus, so that he included it without any hint of disagreement. Again, we get the impression that Paul knew little about the Three Chapters. We may conclude that he did not find a clear explanation of the schism anywhere in Secundus. Neither, as it seems, did the *Historiola* contain anything so openly anti-Roman that Paul would have been put on guard; most probably, Secundus did not attack Gregory the Great directly in his *Historiola*. The audience for the History of Secundus, Theodelinda in the first place, obviously was not interested in anti-Roman propaganda. The account of the complete victory of the supporters of the Three Chapters at Marano, where bishops from Lombard and Byzantine territories had re-established their union in open disregard of ecclesiastic and imperial authorities, was sufficient to reassure the supporters of Theodelinda's policy. It set the agenda for reaching a similar consensus with the Pope, regardless of Byzantine pressure, which seems to have been Secundus's aim.

For more than a hundred years, the Three Chapters disappear from Paul's account. No mention of the schism, for instance, is in the short account of the double succession in the patriarchate which in 606 led to a lasting split between Aquileia and Grado.⁵² Smaragdus, the firm opponent of the Three Chapters, had returned to Ravenna after the usurpation of Phocas and had achieved what the Synod of Marano had prevented in 591: the secession of the bishops under Byzantine rule from the majority of the metropolitan province.⁵³

Only in the last years of the seventh century did the church of Aquileia abandon the issue of the Three Chapters,⁵⁴ and the *Historia Langobardorum* devotes a chapter to the re-establishment of unity in the Italian church:

⁵¹ Sotinel, *Rhétorique de la faute*, pp. 50–53. Most likely, the anonymous author of the letter was held prisoner by the Byzantines, and not, as Sotinel assumes, by the Lombards.

⁵² *HL*, IV, 33: 'His diebus defuncto Severo patriarcha, ordinatur in loco eius Iohannes abbas patriarcha in Aquileia vetere, cum consensu regis et Gisulfi ducis. Aput Gradus quoque ordinatus est Romanis Candidianus antistis.'

⁵³ Bognetti, 'S. Maria foris portas', p. 276.

⁵⁴ For the context, see Bognetti, 'S. Maria foris portas', pp. 420–21; Hefele, *Histoire des conciles*, III.1, 156; Paolo Delogu, 'Il regno longobardo', in Paolo Delogu, André Guillou, and Gherardo Ortalli, *Longobardi e Bizantini*, Storia d'Italia, 1 (Turin: UTET, 1980), pp. 3–216 (pp. 115–16).

At this time the council held at Aquileia, on account of the ignorance of their faith, hesitated to accept the Fifth General Council until, when instructed by the salutary admonitions of the blessed Pope Sergius, it also with the other churches of Christ consented to approve of this. For the synod was held at Constantinople at the time of Pope Vigilius under the emperor Justinian against Theodorus and all the heretics who were asserting that the blessed Mary had given birth to a man only and not to a God and a man. In this synod it was established as a Catholic doctrine that the blessed Mary ever virgin should be called mother of God since, as the Catholic faith has it, she gave birth not to a man only, but truly to God and man.⁵⁵

Paul's chapter is derived from Bede's Chronicle and, ultimately, from the *Liber Pontificalis*.⁵⁶ That he used information that came from Rome via Northumbria about Aquileia may be surprising for a deacon born in this diocese less than thirty years after the event; but obviously, in eighth-century Cividale and Pavia the embarrassment of a long history of heresy outweighed the final triumph of orthodoxy. Furthermore, Paul faithfully copied Bede's misunderstanding of the *Liber Pontificalis* by speaking of a synod of Aquileia, which at that time 'for ignorance of the faith refused to accept the Fifth Universal Council', and only afterwards approved the Pope's salutary counsel. The text of the *Liber Pontificalis* has *Aquilegensis ecclesiae archiepiscopus et synodus qui sub eo est*: 'The archbishop of the church of Aquileia and the synod which comes under him' had refused to accept the Fifth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople II), but the 'spiritual teachings and admonishments' by Pope Sergius had finally changed their minds. The *Liber Pontificalis* does not specifically say that this happened at a synod, but rather uses *synodus* for the bishops of the metropolitan see of Aquileia. It is not

⁵⁵ *HL*, VI, 14 (trans. by Foulke, p. 266): 'Hoc tempore sinodus Aquileiae facta ob imperitiam fidei quintum universalem concilium suscipere diffidit, donec salutaribus beati papae Sergii monitis instructa et ipsa huic cum ceteris Christi ecclesiis annuere consentit. Facta autem est haec sinodus Constantinopolim temporibus Vigilii papae sub Iustiniano principe contra Theodorum et omnes hereticos, qui, beatam Mariam solum hominem, non Deum et hominem genuisse, adfirmabant. In qua sinodo catholice est institutum, ut beata Maria semper virgo theotocos diceretur, quia, sicut catholica fides habet, non hominem solum, sed vere Deum et hominem genuit.'

⁵⁶ *LP*, I, 86, p. 376 (Pope Sergius I): 'Huius temporibus Aquilegensis ecclesiae archiepiscopus et synodus qui sub eo est, qui sanctum quintum universalem concilium utpote errantes suscipere diffidebant, eiusdem beatissimi papae spiritualibus monitis atque doctrinis instructi conversi sunt, eundem venerabilem concilium satisfacti susceperunt'; Bede, *Chronica a. 572, Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII*, vol. III, ed. by Theodor Mommsen, MGH, *AA*, 13 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1898), pp. 29–354 (p. 317): 'Synodus Aquileiae facta, ob imperitiam fidei quintum universalem Concilium suscipere diffidit, donec salutaribus beati papae Sergii monitis instructi, et ipsa huic cum caeteris Christi Ecclesiis adnuere consentit.'

unlikely that a synod was held at Aquileia to decide about the reconciliation with the rest of the Italian church, but the text does not say anything about that.

Paul also uses Bede's short explanation of the Fifth Ecumenical Council that had now been acknowledged by the church of Aquileia.⁵⁷ He must have felt a need for further explanation. But what he added in fact referred to the Third Ecumenical Council at Ephesus in 431, where the Virgin Mary was acclaimed as *theotokos*, not to the Fifth. He does not mention that the point at stake had been the Three Chapters controversy. At the time when Paul wrote, the role of the Virgin Mary was again at the centre of heated debates in the Adoptionist controversy.⁵⁸ Both Alcuin and Paulinus of Aquileia underlined the role of Mary as mother of God and believed that the Adoptionists, mainly Felix and Elipandus, had revived the heresy of Nestorianism.⁵⁹ The meaning of the Three Chapters seems to have sunk into oblivion. That was perhaps due to the arguments used in the debate: both sides had claimed to be faithful to the first four councils, whereas the controversial fifth had been rejected by the heretics and, as we have seen, propagated only with caution by the papal side. Gregory the Great's carefully sustained argument, by which he had sought not to alienate the church in the Lombard kingdom, had a curious effect: not even the first known editor of his letters, Paul the Deacon, understood the Pope's position.

The events that led to the end of the schism in northern Italy are described in a very different manner in a poem, by an otherwise unknown contemporary author at Bobbio, called by the editor *Carmen de synodo Ticinensi*.⁶⁰ It is found in

⁵⁷ Bede, *Chronica a. 561*, p. 315: 'Quinta item in Constantinopoli temporibus Vigiliis papae sub Iustiniano principe contra Theodorum et omnes hereticos.'

⁵⁸ Knut Schäferdieck, 'Der adoptionistische Streit im Rahmen der spanischen Kirchengeschichte', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 80 (1969), 291–311; John Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785–820* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur*, ed. by Ralf Berndt, 2 vols (Mainz: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1997); Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 52–69. For a possible link with Paul the Deacon, see McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 64–66. I am grateful to Celia Chazelle for her suggestions on this point.

⁵⁹ E.g. Alcuin, *Liber contra haeresim Felicis*, ed. by Gary B. Blumenshine, ST, 285 (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980); Paulinus, *Contra Felicem libri tres*, ed. by Dag Norberg, CCCM, 95 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995). See Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 57.

⁶⁰ *Carmen de synodo Ticinensi*, ed. by Ludwig Bethmann, *Pauli historia Langobardorum, Appendix*, II, MGH, *SrLI* (Hannover: Hahn, 1878), pp. 189–91.

two Bobbio manuscripts and identified by the acrostic as the work of a *Stephanus m.*, most probably *monachus*. One of the manuscripts containing the poem is a unique example of the troubled religious history of northern Italy.⁶¹ It probably originated in Verona and contained, among others, Arian texts and the Gothic *Skeireins* written down in the sixth century. In the seventh century, these folia were obliterated together with fifth-century pages with classical literary works to make room for the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, so important for the defenders of the Three Chapters. The manuscript was then transferred to Bobbio, where an eighth-century hand copied the poem that celebrates the victory of Catholicism on empty pages that still show traces of the *Tractatus Arrianorum*.⁶²

The poem is mainly a panegyric for King Cunipert (688–700) and two of his predecessors who also came from Theodelinda's 'Bavarian' dynasty, Aripert I (653–61) and Perctarit (671–88), as champions of the Catholic cause. To re-establish religious unity in the whole West, *in tota Hesperia*, Cunipert ordered 'the Aquileian dissidents of the Fifth Council, which totally concords with the Fourth' (*Aquiligenses dissidentes synodum / Quinta, qui totus concordat cum Quarta*) to come to Pavia. In the *aula* (palace, probably of the King) a debate ensued, which the orthodox won, 'reading out books sanctioned by the fathers, exposing the heresy of Paul and Pyrrus, of Theodore, Hiba and Theodoritus' (*libros legentes sancitos a patribus / Pauli et Pyrri detegentes heresem / Theodori, Hibae simulque Theodoriti*). The last line shows that the poet knew the names of the authors the Three Chapters dealt with and adds the names of two protagonists of the Monotheletist controversy.⁶³ After the reconciliation with the schismatics, King Cunipert sent them on to Pope Sergius I (687–701), who also received a *schedula* by Bishop Damianus of Pavia containing 'the past acts of the aforementioned schism' (*praeterita / quae acta erant praedicto de scismate*). The Pope now ordered the burning of schismatic manuscripts. The poem never explicitly speaks of a Synod of Pavia — as suggested by the title chosen by the editors

⁶¹ Now dismembered into Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 147 sup. and Vatican, Biblioteca Vaticana Apostolica, lat. 5750 (*Codices Latini Antiquiores*, ed. by E. A. Lowe, 12 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–71), I, 26–31, and III, **26–31). See Alessandro Zironi, *Il monastero longobardo di Bobbio: crocevia di uomini, manoscritti e culture*, Istituzioni e società, 3 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2004), pp. 59–62; cf. Nicholas Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy, c. 568–774* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 286.

⁶² Vatican, Biblioteca Vaticana Apostolica, lat. 5750, fols 114–16.

⁶³ Cf. *HL*, VI, 4: 'Hanc autem heresem excitarunt Georgius patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, Macharius, Pyrrus, Paulus et Petrus'; *LP* I, 81 (Pope Agatho).

and generally accepted by modern historiography.⁶⁴ But there must have been some formal encounter at least, the proceedings of which Damianus sent to the Pope. Most likely, Cunipert and Damianus had taken the initiative. But whatever exactly had happened at Pavia, Paul the Deacon wrote nothing about it. That is surprising because Paul had been educated at the court of Pavia by Flavianus, whose uncle, the grammarian Felix, was one of Cunipert's court intellectuals.⁶⁵

Paul certainly was not indifferent to heresy; several of its forms appear briefly in his history, especially in Byzantine contexts. He casts a suspicion of Pelagianism on Justin II,⁶⁶ which is in contrast to the poems of Venantius in praise of this emperor.⁶⁷ He records the debates of young Gregory the Great in Constantinople with Eutychius 'erring about the resurrection' (*de resurrectione errantem*).⁶⁸ He also refers to Monotheletism, to the failed attempts by Emperor Justinian II to abduct Pope Sergius to Constantinople, and to the iconoclast controversy.⁶⁹ In conjunction with the Sixth Ecumenical Council, he quotes a letter by Bishop Damianus of Pavia summing up the argument against Monotheletism.⁷⁰ Otherwise, Paul's information on the Sixth Council is again based on the *Liber Pontificalis* and Bede's Chronicle, and he wrongly claims that the heresy had only recently been raised by the patriarch George.⁷¹ On the whole, he rather selectively awards the attribute *catholicus* or (*uere*) *Christianus* to foreign or Lombard rulers:

⁶⁴ Ottorino Bertolini, *Roma di fronte a Bisanzio e ai Longobardi* (Bologna: L. Cappelli, 1941), pp. 406–07.

⁶⁵ *HL*, VI, 7.

⁶⁶ *HL*, III, 11: 'Quem etiam ferunt in heresiam Pelagianam delapsus.'

⁶⁷ Venantius Fortunatus, *Opera poetica*, ed. by Friedrich Leo, MGH, *AA*, 4.1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), *Appendix*, II; *Venantius Fortunatus: Personal and Political Poems*, trans. by Judith George (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995), pp. 111–15 and n. 3. Cf. Flavius Crescennius Corippus, *In Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris libri IV*, ed. by Joseph Partsch, MGH, *AA*, 3.2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1879).

⁶⁸ *HL*, III, 13.

⁶⁹ *HL*, VI, 4; VI, 11; iconoclasm VI, 34; VI, 36.

⁷⁰ *HL*, VI, 4: 'Recta autem et vera fides haec est, ut in domino nostro Iesu Christo sicut duae sunt naturae, hoc est Dei et hominis, sic etiam duae credantur esse voluntates sive operationes.' For the letter, see Alzati, "Pro sancta fide", pp. 123–30.

⁷¹ *LP* I, 81 (Pope Agatho); Bede, *Chronicae* a. 558, a. 560, pp. 314–15. Cf. Capo, *Paolo Diacono: Storia dei Longobardi*, p. 565. As elsewhere, Paul seems to reduce the long history of a heresy here.

Justinian, Narses, Tiberios, Perctarit, whereas he does not use it for Justin II, Maurice, or Grimoald, to name just a few.

Arianism is another area of selective information in Paul's History. There is no sign that Secundus had mentioned it. In the first books of the *Historia Langobardorum*, Arianism only appears in two passages taken out of Gregory of Tours which deal with the conversion of the Visigoths *ab Arriana heresi*.⁷² Lombard Arianism in fact does not become very obvious in Gregory's Histories either, in part because it kept a low political profile for most of the time.⁷³ Authari's ban on Catholic baptism among the Lombards, which is known from a letter of Gregory the Great, is not mentioned in the *Historia Langobardorum*.⁷⁴ Only with King Rothari in the middle of the seventh century does Arianism become a topic for Paul. And here, once and for all, he sets out his priorities. Rothari, he admits, 'did not hold the right line of Christian belief, but was stained by the infidelity of the Arian heresy'.⁷⁵ But this tension is relieved by a story about an attempted grave-robbery in Rothari's tomb in the church of St John the Baptist at Pavia. The robber has a vision of St John who repudiates him: 'Why did you dare to touch the body of that man? Although he may not have been of the true faith, yet he has commended himself to me.'⁷⁶ St John the Baptist was, according to Paul, the guardian saint of the Lombard kingdom, whose unfailing protection was only squandered by unworthy clerics shortly before the fall of the kingdom in 774.⁷⁷ The saint could also amend heresy and protect kings stained with Arianism.

⁷² *HL*, III, 21 (Hermenegild); III, 28 (with an indirect clue that the Lombards are still Arians). Cf. John Moorhead, 'Gregory of Tours on the Arian Kingdoms', *Studi Medievali*, 36 (1995), 903–15; Walter Pohl, 'Gregory of Tours and Contemporary Perceptions of Lombard Italy', in *The World of Gregory of Tours*, ed. by Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 131–44.

⁷³ Steven C. Fanning, 'Lombard Arianism Reconsidered', *Speculum*, 56 (1981), 241–58. See also Pohl, 'Deliberate Ambiguity'.

⁷⁴ Gregory, *Ep.* I, 17, *MGH, Epp.* 1, p. 23. Interestingly, Gregory encourages the Catholic bishops in 591 to win back those who were baptized as Arians to the Catholic side. Cf. Pohl, 'Deliberate Ambiguity'.

⁷⁵ *HL*, IV, 42: 'fidei christianae non rectam lineam tenens Arrianae hereseos perfidia maculatus est'.

⁷⁶ *HL*, IV, 47: 'Cur ausus es corpus istius hominis contingere? Fuerit licet non recte credens, tamen mihi se commendavit.'

⁷⁷ *HL*, V, 6.

One should not attribute Paul's somewhat lukewarm position towards Lombard heretics to a one-dimensional Lombard patriotism, as has often been done. Paul's Christian values are often at odds with the actions of Lombard rulers, and he does not hesitate to criticize them sharply. He saw heresy, like all the negative features of kings and other figures of public life, as a personal weakness, usually connected with other shortcomings, but sometimes also balanced by commendable Christian virtues. There is no sign that he considered either Arianism or the defence of the Three Chapters an element of Lombard identity, however transitory. Arianism, or rather, the *homoian* creed briefly considered orthodox in the third quarter of the fourth century and transmitted through the writings of Ulfila (a differentiation reiterated by Knut Schäferdiek⁷⁸), had been termed *lex Gothica* in the Ostrogothic kingdom;⁷⁹ no confession of faith could be called *lex Langobardica*. Paul writes that there had been a parallel Arian church in almost every city under Rothari, and that he had seen the former Arian cathedral and baptistry in Pavia; but soon, he remarks, the Arian bishop Anastasius had converted and become a Catholic bishop instead.⁸⁰ Heresy, for Paul, was a matter of personal choice, not so much an institutional or political problem; therefore, it could also be overcome by personal efforts.

Many late antique and medieval sources try to draw firm lines between heresy and orthodoxy, and establish as little an iota as the divide between heaven and hell. If Paul the Deacon, one of the leading intellectuals of his age, is much more flexible in this regard, we should not attribute that to his incapacity to grasp the essential issues. Rather, this may hint at an approach reaching back to the end of the sixth century, when Pope Gregory the Great began to move with greater caution in his dealings with the Tricapitoline church in northern Italy, downplayed the theological contents of the schism of the Three Chapters, and underlined his own firm pro-Chalcedonian stance. The Three Chapters were not a matter of

⁷⁸ Knut Schäferdiek, 'Die Anfänge des Christentums bei den Goten und der sog. gotische Arianismus', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 112 (2001), 295–310.

⁷⁹ Jan Olof Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, 3 vols (Lund: Gleerup, 1954–82), II, n. 34; Herwig Wolfram, *Die Goten*, 4th edn (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2001), p. 211.

⁸⁰ *HL*, IV, 42: 'Huius temporibus pene per omnes civitates regni eius duo episcopi erant, unus catholicus et alter Arrianus. In civitate quoque Ticinensi usque nunc ostenditur, ubi Arrianus episcopus apud basilica sancti Eusebii residens baptisterium habuit, cum tamen ecclesiae catholicae alius episcopus resideret. Qui tamen Arrianus episcopus, qui in eadem civitate fuit, Anastasius nomine, ad fidem catholicam conversus, Christi postea ecclesiam rexit.'

faith, he argued, but of the condemnation of individuals. Schismatics such as Secundus, therefore, did not regard the popes as their main adversaries, but the Byzantine authorities. Gregory the Great's success against heresy in his lifetime was limited; but in the long run, this approach prevailed, and the debate seems to have gradually chilled down.

Paul was not interested in the *longue durée* of the schism. He relates two separate instances of bishops who had strayed from the path: Elias of Aquileia, who did not want to accept the Three Chapters and was admonished by Pope Pelagius; and John of Ravenna, another *damnator* of the Three Chapters who had disassociated himself from Rome and temporarily forced his position on Severus of Aquileia, until the Synod of Marano re-established unity. The problem of accepting the Fifth Council at the end of the seventh century, as Paul presented it, was not connected with the Three Chapters but with the *theotokos* Mary; again, a synod at Aquileia lapsed from the Catholic position, but Pope Sergius soon ended the controversy. This is Paul's Three Chapters patchwork. He may have known more about it and chosen not to say it. For instance, Gregory's letter to Secundinus was part of the collection that he probably sent to Adalhard.⁸¹ But there is hardly a trace that Paul has manipulated his sources to downplay the controversy. As far as we can tell, he faithfully rendered those that he used. His only deliberate addition is the wrong explanation of what had happened at the Fifth Council of Constantinople. For Paul, heresy was part of the troubled history of the Lombards (and specifically, of the church of Aquileia), and he did not hide that fact. But he was not interested in its historical development; rather, he was concerned with specific instances of lapses from the right creed, and with the ways in which such problems could be overcome. Remedy is near in all his heresy stories: a useful letter, a synod that establishes unity, bishops returning to the true faith, or a papal admonishment. And that may have been his message.

⁸¹ *Ep.* IX, 148, pp. 698–704; see Peitz, *Das Register Gregors des I.*, p. 208.

EPILOGUE

Robert A. Markus and Claire Sotinel

The preceding chapters have expounded the ways in which responses to the condemnation of the Three Chapters varied in different areas of the Empire. The purpose of this epilogue is to make explicit the comparisons implied by the individual studies. In this connection, two questions will have to be distinguished: first, the different ways in which the responses developed in the different areas; and second, the different ways the subsequent schism affected these areas. We will also estimate the importance of the controversy for the Church as well as the Empire and the kingdoms of western Europe, and try to explain why the controversy was soon so generally forgotten.

Not all the areas of the former western Roman Empire were involved in the struggle against the condemnation of the Three Chapters, and the impact of the controversy was not the same everywhere. Comparing the different situations, it is clear that the closer relations were with the eastern Empire, the deeper the impact of the controversy. We know almost nothing of reactions in northern Gaul and Spain. Thanks, though, to the rapprochement between the Gallic churches and Rome promoted by Caesarius of Arles in the early sixth century, Gallic bishops were informed about the theological controversy, albeit only through Italian intermediaries. Ian Wood has shown how personal most of these intermediaries were, and how confused were the Gallic positions. As a result, apart from a strong, though rather general profession of faith at the Council of Orléans in 549, Gaul never developed a unified or coordinated response, and the hopes of the Italian defenders of the Three Chapters, asking for a council to be called to side with Pope Vigilius, were disappointed. After the election of Pope Pelagius I (556–61), the Gallic bishops continued to express concern about the orthodoxy of the condemnation, of the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553), and of the Pope himself, but did not press their doubts so far as to go into schism. Some of the

most complete collections of documents about the Three Chapters were made in Gaul — a clear sign of their interest.

In areas subject to direct imperial authority, the situation was very different. Two regions of the Empire, Africa and Italy, are necessarily at the centre of this enquiry. The ways in which the controversy developed in them, and the ways they responded and contributed to its development, were by no means the same. But they differed from other parts of the Empire in several major respects: they had both been either recently brought back under imperial control, or were in the course of being brought back, and they were exposed to and affected by the conflict to a far greater extent than other provinces. There is a comparative abundance of material for them, whereas the history of the schism in provinces either nearer to the centre of the imperial administration (Illyricum, the eastern provinces) or those now beyond its writ (Gaul, Spain) has to be reconstructed from scraps of evidence.

The Illyrian churches were among the first to give expression to their dissent from the imperial policy: in 549 they deposed their metropolitan, Bishop Benenatus of Prima Justiniana, for having assented to the condemnation of the Three Chapters.¹ In the run-up to the Council of 553, they were widely seen as part of the opposition, along with the Dalmatians and Africans,² and they refused Justinian's summons to attend the synod. The metropolitan, Benenatus, now reconciled with his suffragans, sent a representative, Bishop Phocas of Stobi. Before the gathering, three Illyrian bishops present in Constantinople excused themselves from taking part in the deliberations on the grounds of being unable to make a decision without the authority of their archbishop.³ Opposition survived for some years after the council:⁴ if the Illyrian bishops referred to by Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604) in *Epistola* I, 43 as *nobis contrarios* are partisans of the Three

¹ Victor of Tunnena (= Tonnenna), *Chronicon*, 139, in *Victor Tunnunensis, Iohannes Biclarensis: Chronicon cum reliquiis ex Consularibus Caesaraugustanis – Chronicon*, ed. by Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, CCSL, 173A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), pp. 1–55 (p. 46).

² See e.g. *Ep.* 4, in *Epistolae aevi Merowingici collectae*, ed. by Wilhelm Gundlach, MGH, *Epp.* 3, *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, 1, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, Wilhelm Gundlach, and others (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), pp. 439–40; Facundus, *Pro defensione trium capitulorum libri XII*, IV, 3. 5, in *Facundi episcopi Ecclesiae Hermianensis opera omnia*, ed. by Jean-Marie Clément and Roland Vander Plaetse, CCSL, 90A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974), p. 122; Facundus, *Contra Mocianum*, 50, in CCSL, 90A, p. 412.

³ *ACO*, IV.1, p. 30.

⁴ Victor, *Chronicon*, 160, in CCSL, 173A, p. 52.

Chapters, as they almost certainly are, this would be evidence of the schism continuing in Illyricum into the 590s.⁵

In the surviving documentation the churches of Dalmatia are almost invariably associated with those of Illyricum and Africa as among the dissenters.⁶ In relation both to the Roman see and to the imperial government they were, however, in a somewhat different position. Dalmatia was being drawn into the sphere of the imperial administration of Italy and, eventually, of the exarch of Ravenna; its churches were under the direct jurisdiction of Rome. At the end of the sixth century, Gregory I had far closer relations with Dalmatia than with Illyricum, though in both he attributed his inability to intervene effectively to secular influence. His dealings with Salona, the metropolitan see of Dalmatia, involved the civil administration centred on the exarch's office in Ravenna,⁷ and most of his ample correspondence with Dalmatia passed through Ravenna. In one of his letters Gregory refers to 'Frontinians', a faction in Salona still estranged from the official Church. This must have originated at the time of the deposition and exile of Bishop Frontinianus in 554.⁸ If we may assume a continuous history linking the schismatic community known to Gregory with the faction that had sided with the 'heretical' bishop imposed by imperial fiat in 554, this seems formal proof that local schism in Salona continued at least to the end of the sixth century.⁹ The position of this group in relation to the long drawn-out conflicts over the contested episcopal election to the see of Salona in the 580s and 590s cannot be determined.

The earliest and strongest opposition to the Emperor's policies was concentrated in North Africa. Both theological and political factors, as Yves Modéran has emphasized, contributed to the course of the conflict here. The vitality of the North African theological tradition seems to have continued more or less unbroken through the years of Vandal occupation; the works of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine continued to be studied, to allow theologians of the calibre of Fulgentius of Ruspe to emerge. In the ten years since the reconquest the government and the imperial forces had come to be seen in Africa first as liberators, and then

⁵ Gregory, *Ep. I*, 43, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. by Dag Norbert, 2 vols, CCSL, 140–140A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), 140, p. 57. Henceforth Gregory's letters cited from this edition unless otherwise indicated.

⁶ Cf. above, note 2.

⁷ See Robert A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 157–61.

⁸ Cf. Victor, *Chronicon*, 148, 164, in CCSL, 173A, pp. 49, 53.

⁹ Gregory, *Ep. X*, 15, pp. 842–44.

as guardians of security in the face of local threats. For a decade Africans were the grateful recipients of imperial favour. All this changed when the crisis broke in 543/44 with Justinian's initiative on the Three Chapters, and Africans took the lead in opposing it. Their theological tradition and memories of their experience of oppression under the Vandal regime, and of actual persecution in the 480s, provided them with the spiritual and intellectual resources for resistance to interference by the secular power in the Church's doctrinal development. In the years leading up to the Council of Carthage in 550, the outlines of a radical case against the condemnation became fixed; they received their most impressively articulate expression in the work of Facundus of Hermiane from 551. The growing fiscal burden and the Byzantine army's inability to guarantee the Africans' security will have done much to undermine loyalty to the Emperor. The stage was thus set for a sharp conflict with Justinian's policy, and the African provinces, as a consequence, became the chief target of brutal official repression.

From the moment in 550 when the African bishops excommunicated the vacillating pope, they found themselves in a highly exposed position. It was only in Africa that the government considered it necessary to carry out a sustained campaign to overcome resistance, rounding up bishops, exiling or deposing those who would not allow themselves to be bought over. The carefully thought-out, well-documented, and powerful discourse of Facundus against Justinian's theology provoked, as it seems, from the Emperor an 'edict' composed by way of reply, aimed primarily at the African Church, the intellectual and moral centre of the resistance.¹⁰ While the opposition in Gaul, in Italy, and in Illyricum could be ignored, and the absence of bishops of these provinces from the Council of Constantinople in 553 tolerated, the Africans were compelled to take part and to comply with the Emperor's will.

The African chroniclers Victor of Tonnenna and Liberatus of Carthage present a mixed picture, as we would expect, of heroism and accommodation. Many bishops were deposed or fled the imperial repression, as did Facundus himself, who continued to thunder from his hiding place against the Emperor's 'manufactured churches'.¹¹ Others, bought over or intimidated, chose to acquiesce.

¹⁰ See Wolfgang Pewsies, '*Imperium, ecclesia universalis*, Rom: Der Kampf der afrikanischen Kirche um die Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts', in *Geistige Grundlagen römischer Kirchenpolitik*, ed. by Erich Seeberg, Robert Holzmann, and Wilhelm Weber, *Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte*, 11 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1937), p. 140.

¹¹ 'Manufactas ecclesias': Facundus, *Epistula fidei catholicae in defensione trium capitulorum*, 52, in CCSL, 90A, p. 432.

Particularly significant for the African Church at this time was the growth of popular opposition to the imperial religious policies. Our sources, although scanty on this point, nevertheless leave us in no doubt as to its existence. When Reparatus, Bishop of Carthage, was sent into exile, his successor had to brave the resistance of clergy and people and had to be established in his see by force of arms and with the shedding of much innocent blood.¹² In the province of Byzacena, Primasius, whose adhesion Justinian had secured, was authorized to succeed to the primacy of the province; but he, too, had to be imposed 'with most forceful persecution' (*ualidissimis persecutionibus*), as the chronicler observes.¹³

The African resistance lost its effectiveness and appears to have faded after the Council of 553. A sad picture of the African Church emerges from the story as told by Victor of Tonnenna: except for a very few survivors among the dissidents, including the chronicler himself, the majority of the African episcopate appears finally to have crumbled, to have reconciled itself to the regime, 'contaminated', as Victor says of the Numidian bishops, 'by having entered into communion with the usurper of the same church' of Carthage.¹⁴ Liberatus, writing bitterly in Justinian's last years, says that the fact that all the African episcopate allowed to keep their sees had been corrupted (by Justinian's bribes) was so well known that he had no need to give details.¹⁵ The African opposition seems to have finally collapsed before the end of Justinian's reign. Divisions between the primatial see of Carthage and the other ecclesiastical provinces — exploited by the government — played a part; and the need for protection against renewed threat from the Moors in the 560s undoubtedly contributed to dissolving the hostility towards the imperial government. Justinian's successor, Justin II, finally reversed his predecessor's policies and adopted toleration towards dissent.¹⁶ But by then the fatal division between Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian churches had crystallized into two rival churches.

For the next twenty-five years we know very little of what went on in the African Church. But when it emerges into daylight — of a sort — during the

¹² *Ep.* 4, MGH, *Epp.* 3, pp. 439–40.

¹³ Victor, *Chronicon*, 145, in CCSL, 173A, p. 48.

¹⁴ 'eiusdem ecclesie incubatoris communione polluti': Victor, *Chronicon*, 152, in CCSL, 173A, p. 50.

¹⁵ *Breviarum causae Nestorianum et Eutychianorum*, 24, *ACO*, II.5, p. 141.

¹⁶ Averil Cameron, 'The Early Religious Policies of Justin II', *Studies in Church History*, 13 (1976), 51–67; reprinted in Cameron, *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium*, Variorum Reprints (London: Variorum, 1981), X.

pontificate of Gregory the Great in the 590s, African opposition to the government in Constantinople has all but vanished, and local civil officials have aligned their interests with their local churches.¹⁷ Ancient traditions of autonomy, so dramatically resurgent in the middle of the sixth century, were not yet extinct; but now they were asserted against the see of Rome, rather than against the government. The few bishops who maintained an attitude of collaboration with the Roman Church found themselves resented in their encounters with the administration of the exarch at Carthage, as well as by their episcopal colleagues in Africa. In Byzantine Africa we can observe the emergence of an ecclesiastical-administrative solidarity, a Church jealous of its coherence and independence, suspicious of outside interference, with common interests and shared loyalties. The vitality of this tradition, the vigour of a Church with strong local roots, reappeared in the seventh century, when African clerics and lay officials placed themselves at the head of the fight against the tyranny of Phocas (602–10); and again, some forty years later, in the Monothelite struggles.

The African churches' attitude towards the see of Rome had always been ambivalent: while prepared to acknowledge its primacy, they were also intent on maintaining their own prerogatives. In a crisis they were very ready to make common cause with Rome when they judged its doctrinal stand to be in accord with conciliar decisions and traditional doctrine, as they did in the Monothelite crisis in the mid-seventh century, when the churches of Rome and of Africa supported one another in their common resistance to the court of Constantinople. Though associated now with Rome, the African Church once again found its cohesion, its force, and its identity in dissent. Its experience under Justinian must have contributed to the tenacity of this strand in its tradition, giving it a profound continuity in its history and enabling it to survive in the new conditions of the Arab conquests in North Africa.¹⁸ The theological tradition it could draw on

¹⁷ For summary and further references, see Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World*, pp. 188–200.

¹⁸ See Elizabeth Savage, *A Gateway to Hell, a Gateway to Paradise: The North African Response to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1997); Mark Handley, 'Disputing the End of African Christianity', in *Vandals, Romans and Berbers: New Perspectives on Late Antique North Africa*, ed. by Andrew H. Merrills (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 291–310; and the magisterial survey of modern work on North Africa, A. H. Merrills, 'Vandals, Romans and Berbers: Understanding Late Antique North Africa', in *ibid.*, pp. 3–28. On the Moors in relation to the Empire, see Yves Modéran, *Les Maures et l'Afrique romaine, IV^e–VII^e siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2003), esp. pp. 796–806.

provided a lasting intellectual resource to nourish its dissent; the political and military circumstances in the province, as Modéran describes them, acted as powerful forces to modify it.

In Africa Justinian's interventions appear to have strengthened the local traditions of independence and, in consequence, the regional cohesion of the Church and its consciousness of its local identity and local loyalties shared with the local governing classes. The need of the region's population for protection by the imperial forces attenuated, and finally, it seems, dissipated, its resistance to the policies of Constantinople. In Italy, by contrast, the military circumstances did more to determine the government's policies in the areas most affected by the controversy than to modify the attitudes of dissenting circles.

The position of the imperial administration in Italy in some respects resembled, in others differed from, that of its counterpart in Carthage. One important difference is visible in the policies pursued by the court towards the Italian schismatics in their stronghold in the province of Venetia et Histria. Whereas in Africa the government imposed its religious policies by force, in Italy military considerations led the imperial administration to refuse papal demands for support. During the pontificate of Pelagius I, Rome and Ravenna exerted themselves in upholding the imperial orthodoxy yet in an Italy soon torn by schism, leaning on the support of the military authorities in the region.¹⁹ But as early as 559 – only five years after the *Pragmatica Sanctio* (Pragmatic Sanction) whereby Justinian sought to regulate the affairs of reconquered Italy – dangerous divisions between the ecclesiastical and the civil authorities began to appear. It is clear from Pelagius's letters that his numerous requests for help, addressed to civil and military dignitaries, from the patrician Narses down to minor officials, were almost systematically turned down. We know very little of what happened in Italy after Pelagius I's death, except that, in 572, the Bishop of Milan, exiled in Genoa, rallied to the Roman communion. But the flourishing of the schismatic churches, now gathered around the see of Aquileia, is enough to prove that local authorities never did much against them. The Pope could no longer count on the willing cooperation of the military authorities at any level. Many officials allowed themselves to be won over by the schismatics; others, such as Narses himself, who could certainly not be charged with disloyalty to orthodoxy, refused to rally to its defence. At this time the Pope still believed, or, at any rate, would have liked to

¹⁹ For details on this and what follows, see Robert A. Markus, 'Ravenna and Rome, 554–604', *Byzantion*, 51 (1981), 566–78; reprinted in Markus, *From Augustine to Gregory the Great: History and Christianity in Late Antiquity*, Variorum Reprints (London: Variorum, 1983), XIV.

appear to believe, that the reluctance of the military commanders in Italy to come to his aid was contrary to the ecclesiastical policies adopted by the court, and was the result of corruption.²⁰

The Emperor Maurice (582–602) endeavoured, just as had Justinian, to secure religious unity; but he had as little success. In Italy he abandoned the attempt. Thirty years after Pelagius I had expressed the view that corruption stopped the authorities in Italy implementing the will of the court, and led them instead to connive with the schismatics and favour them, the government officially abandoned the policies that Pelagius I had still ascribed to it. Around 590 conditions in Northern Italy forced Emperor Maurice to forsake the policy, which had also been Justinian's, of trying to enforce religious unity in the reconquered provinces. Now the objectives of simultaneously securing military control and religious unity were revealed to be incompatible. Orthodoxy had to be sacrificed to the necessity of retaining the loyalty of this troubled region. The collapse of Justinian's project is revealed by the nomination of a new exarch to replace his ardently anti-schismatic predecessor Narses, together with the Emperor's orders given to Pope Gregory I not to bother the schismatics in such difficult times.²¹ Emperor and exarch were now working together in thwarting the Pope's efforts to bring the schismatics back to obedience. While in Africa the local administration had frustrated the fulfilment of the imperial intentions, in Italy the court itself had come to accept the impossibility of realizing the grand project, of reconciling its religious and military components.

The development of the Italian church during the half century following the Pragmatic Sanction of 554 demonstrates the inherent contradiction within Justinian's great design. It also shows, however, something that would in the long run prove to be even more important: as in Africa, in Italy, too, Justinian's policies promoted the development of local churches whose strongest links were with their local societies rather than with the universal Church or the papacy. In Ravenna, the seat of government in Italy for a century and a half, the local church had slowly and in a piece-meal fashion assumed a status and influence in keeping with the city's civil importance.²² The see of Ravenna, a relative newcomer to the major sees in Northern Italy, sought to claim ancient rights and privileges. In 546

²⁰ Gregory I, *Ep.* I, 16B (Maurice to Gregory), *Registrum epistolarum*, ed. by Paul Ewald and Ludo M. Hartmann, 2 vols, MGH, *Epp.* 1–2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1887–99), I, 22–23.

²¹ *Ep.* I, 16B, MGH, *Epp.* 1, p. 22.

²² For a summary, see Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World*, pp. 143–47.

Justinian appointed Maximian as its bishop, with an enhanced but undefined authority symbolized by the pallium bestowed on him by Pope Vigilius at the Emperor's behest. The Emperor's intervention in the affairs of the see of Ravenna clearly indicated his intention to make it — alongside Rome — a focus of imperial authority and a bridgehead for the enforcement of imperial orthodoxy, as a counterweight to the sees of Milan and Aquileia. Very soon Maximian assumed the archiepiscopal title, and the church of Ravenna bolstered its prestige by every available means, seeking to justify it as sanctioned by a fictitious but glorious history. The pallium was ostentatiously displayed by Ravenna mosaicists adorning earlier bishops and the legendary founder of the see, St Apollinaris. A past was being invented to validate, and, if possible, to build up, Ravennate claims.²³

The policy of trying to impose the imperial orthodoxy was, however, as noted, given up. Even in Ravenna itself, opposition to the condemnation of the Three Chapters had evidently not died out as late as Gregory's time.²⁴ The archbishops did, indeed, attempt to work together with the civil authorities to enforce the imperial orthodoxy, but they seldom succeeded, especially in the province of Aquileia. The Bishops of Ravenna supported the Roman and imperial position; but relations between the two centres of orthodoxy in Italy, Rome and Ravenna, were becoming increasingly strained. The rift between the two churches was exacerbated by local ecclesiastical disputes. What part opposition to the Roman view on the condemnations played in these disputes, now involving wide sections of local society, the evidence does not allow us to judge. The see of Ravenna was occupied by two of Gregory's close friends, both of Roman origin. Nevertheless, they were drawn into local pressure-groups opposed to the Pope. The tensions and conflicts revealed in Gregory's correspondence allow us to see a growing sense of confidence in the Ravenna Church, strong corporate loyalties, a sense of its own traditions — in large measure fictitious — and a jealous determination to conserve them intact. We should take note particularly of these pressures of local groupings, with interests shared between clerical and lay circles, which ineluctably drew the archbishops — even those of Roman origin and with close personal ties to the Pope — to identify themselves with the local concerns of the Ravenna Church. The huge boost given to Ravenna ambitions by Justinian's intervention in 546 served the growth of local loyalties, which were to culminate in claims to autonomy or more precisely 'autocephaly' in the seventh century. Ravenna and

²³ See Otto Georg von Simson, *Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), and Markus, 'Ravenna and Rome'.

²⁴ Gregory, *Ep.* VI, 2, pp. 370–71.

the exarchate are thus, as André Guillou has amply shown, a classic case of the 'regionalism' so characteristic of the Empire after Justinian.

The controversy had even more direct consequences in Northern Italy, where after the death of Vigilius the ecclesiastical provinces of Milan and Aquileia rejected the Roman communion. Between 556 and 572, all churches of the northern administrative region of Italia Annonaria were separated from Rome and developed a strong loyalty towards their own metropolitans and the Three Chapters. In 572, the Bishop of Milan, who had fled to Genoa to escape the Lombard invaders, was reconciled with Rome, but most of the Christians established in Lombard territory remained loyal to the Chapters' defence. The eclipse of the see of Milan in the next two centuries owes as much to this inner division as to the exile in Genoa. The situation of Aquileia was different. The bishops of the see managed to create some kind of 'autocephalous' church grounded on the orthodoxy of its faith and the perfect communion of its members. When the Lombards invaded Northern Italy, the Bishop of Aquileia was able to maintain strong links both with the Byzantine authorities (he himself had settled in Grado, a small island very close to Aquileia) and with bishops under Lombard control. He even extended his influence over new churches, both in territories under barbarian control (Pannonia, Noricum) and in territories dependent on the church of Milan, and he assumed the title of patriarch. In such circumstances, the see of Aquileia resisted for a long time the pontifical attempts to restore unity. Only in 607 was the unity of the Aquileian church broken by the election of a pro-Roman bishop in Grado, which resulted in a division of the see when a pro-Three Chapters bishop was elected by dissidents in Lombard territories. The schismatic church lasted until 695, so accentuating the differences between Byzantine Venetia and Lombard Friuli. Here too the schism promoted the reorganization of solidarities within regional rather than imperial horizons.

The presence of governing classes, both lay and clerical, with common interests, which we have observed both in Africa and in Italy, is an important factor in the emergence of flourishing local and regional societies. The social pressures generated by their emergence are, naturally, many and varied.²⁵ It is one of the

²⁵ See André Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'empire byzantin au VI^e siècle: L'exemple de l'exarchat et de la pentapole d'Italie* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1969), and his studies collected in Guillou, *Studies on Byzantine Italy*, Variorum Reprints (London: Variorum, 1970), especially I, II, and III. See also Thomas S. Brown, 'The Church of Ravenna and the Imperial Administration in the Seventh Century', *English Historical Review*, 94 (1979), 1–28, and Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554–800* (London: British School at Rome, 1984).

ironies of history that Justinian's religious policies, conceived with the aim of creating a united Church within a reunified Empire, should have reinforced just those forces which brought about this regionalism. Justinian's universalism gave great impetus to the emergence of that world of narrow horizons, the 'campanilismo', as Italian scholars like to speak of it, which became so striking a feature of European life in the post-Justinianic era.

What was the significance of the controversy for the Empire and for the Church in the longer term? The controversy, and even more the schism, need to be taken into account in any assessment of the failure and the success of Justinian's project of unification.²⁶ In the years after 550, the *Corpus Juris* was all that survived of his grand design. The pacification of Italy and the Second Council of Constantinople in 553 appeared to arrest the disintegration of the great project; but it was no more than a momentary respite. The inability of the government to establish real security and a lasting peace in North Africa, the troubles of Italy, devastated by the war and the plague, the resurgence of Monophysitism in the East, and a schism in the West: these are the chief items on the debit side of the balance sheet. In the development of the western Church in the years after 540 we can see the contradiction at the heart of the Justinianic programme: the necessity it imposed on his successors — as well as on his own government — of undermining the very universalism at which it aimed.

Was the controversy a cause of Justinian's failure in the West, or was it only a symptom? The defence of the Three Chapters was not decisive for political attitudes towards the Empire. The populations remained loyal to it in both schismatic and non-schismatic areas. Claudio Azzara has demonstrated that there never was any intention to create a national Lombard church in Northern Italy. But the controversy gave proof of the fact that the Empire of Constantinople did not, and could not, secure the unity of the Church any more than it could assure the safety of the provinces. In Italy, those who backed the imperial policy (Pelagius I, Gregory) could not rely on official support; in Africa, the defenders of the Three Chapters were at first persecuted; when the persecution ceased, or where there had never been persecution, as in Northern Italy, the bishops knew that those whose protection they were seeking were those whom they saw as having betrayed

²⁶ See, for instance, Ernest Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. II: *De la disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476–565)*, publiée par Jean-Remy Palanque (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1949), pp. 279–83, for a notably severe evaluation.

the faith of Chalcedon. The controversy did not alienate the populations from the Empire, but it undermined their confidence in it as a functioning political unity.

Its impact on theological development is more ambiguous, but no less important. It has been said many times in this book that the controversy had no real theological impact on western thought. This does not mean that it had no impact at all. The traditional view is that the Three Chapters controversy was too complicated a problem to be understood by western minds, and that their defenders were merely inspired by an obstinate attachment to tradition. The western attitude is usually seen as the expression of the growing incapacity of Latin-speaking churches to catch theological subtleties. There is much to support such a view, but there is more to be said. If the western churches never entered the christological logic of Justinian's edict, they raised other questions which were not without interest.

The controversy over the Three Chapters arose almost exactly at the time that a former, much deeper challenge had been eliminated by the power of arms: Arianism. Churches in Africa and Italy had spent decades under the rule of Arian kings, and had had to live, willingly or not, under regimes in which both churches and the faithful were divided. With the destruction of these kingdoms, unity was within reach; but before it was achieved, the new reason for division occurred. The failure of unity was not only political; it also involved the unity of faith hoped for by most Christians. At the same time — contrary to what had happened in the case of the Arians — the positions of the two parties were not so opposed as to exclude negotiation and reconciliation. Even at the bitter times of persecutions in Africa, even despite the intransigent letters of Gregory, there was room for negotiation. Walter Pohl goes as far as to write that, under the influence of the chronicle by Secundus of Trent, the History of the Lombards by Paul the Deacon 'demonstrates that good or bad could be found on all sides'. Celia Chazelle, discussing Cassiodorus's likely, eventual antipathy to the condemnation, notes that

Justinian's division of acceptable from unacceptable writings and theologians within the decisions of Chalcedon had provoked parallel divisions within the Church. In contrast, Grandior, the *Institutions*, and their schemata leave no doubt about Cassiodorus's interest in unity, scholarly and spiritual as much as ecclesiastical. For him, achievement of this ideal required that every Christian accept the underlying harmony of even seemingly discordant elements of creation and the fullness of divine revelation in all its rich diversity. Even heterodox material like the writings of Origen may present something of unified divine wisdom. Chalcedon, a divinely blessed, conciliar expression of unity, had itself embraced these principles in allowing the authors and writings that Justinian later condemned.

On the other hand, to defend the position of Rome, Gregory the Great went so far as to justify Vigilius's changes of position on the basis that, following the example of Peter versus Paul, 'Decisions evolve, and flexibility is requisite to the

proper discernment of the truth', as Carole Straw writes, a position that was not to be widely held among Bishops of Rome. All this points towards an important aspect of the controversy: it maintained a considerable level of complexity in ecclesiastical discussions in the West.

The price to pay for complexity was high. As the years passed and the wound of the schism healed, the controversy became more and more difficult to understand for the protagonists themselves. Although considerable efforts had been made, especially in Northern Italy, to collect texts to sustain the defence of the Three Chapters (this is also true for Gaul: see Ian Wood and the example of the *Collectio Arelatensis*), at some point it became impossible to maintain the level of knowledge necessary to defend the cause. In Africa, as in Illyricum, the controversy just faded in the deep shadows left in the surviving documentation, and even in Northern Italy, it began to blur. A good landmark is probably Columbanus's confusion in the letter he sent to Pope Honorius at the time of his arrival in Italy in 613, mentioned in this volume by Ian Wood: there was obviously no one at the Lombard court to explain to Columbanus the reasons for the conflict with Rome. However, until the very end of the schism, there were people who knew about the origins of the controversy. In 695, the Lombard king Cunipert decided to put an end to the schism; a *magister*, named Stefanus, wrote a poem to celebrate what he calls a 'council'. His narrative of the meeting is illuminating: knowing that the 'dissidents of Aquileia' shared the same baptism and believed in the same Trinity as all Catholics, and knowing that the only point of disagreement was 'the Fifth Synod, which in every respect agrees with the Fourth' (*synodum quinta [sic], qui totus concordat cum quarta*), Cunipert convoked the *Aquiligenses* to Pavia. They met in an *aula* where the 'orthodox' began to discuss with the 'wrong-headed' (*prauos*), reading holy books, beginning with the Fathers, and discussing the heresy of 'Paul, Pyrrhus, Theodore, Ibas and Theodoret'. The outcome as to which side would be victorious was known from the beginning and, very soon, the King asked them, now all Catholics, to swear that they would accept the Fifth Council and promise full reconciliation. The union was celebrated with great joy and many tears, and the King then requested that the two parties choose legates to be sent to Rome. There, Pope Sergius I (687–701) was happy to acknowledge the reconciliation and to forgive the schismatics. He ordered that all books that belonged to the party in the wrong (*praua secta*) be burned, so that such wrong-headed people as the schismatics could not grow in number.²⁷

²⁷ *Carmen de synodo Ticinensi*, in *Pauli historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Ludwig Bethmann, in MGH, *SrLI* (Hannover: Hahn, 1878), *Appendix*, II, pp. 189–91.

Even if, in the first part of his poem, Stefanus clumsily compares the end of the schism with the destruction of Arianism and the conversion of the Jews accomplished by Cunipert's father and grandfather, he is amazingly precise when he speaks of the schism itself. The list of heretics he gives might seem strange: what has Paul of Samosata to do with the Three Chapters, and why the enigmatic Pyrrhus, a Monothelite patriarch of Constantinople? But Paul of Samosata had been condemned for heresy about the nature of Christ in the third century and Pyrrhus had debated the Monothelite theses in Carthage, Rome, and Ravenna around 645.²⁸ Hence the two names, possibly the oldest and the most recent cases of Christological heresy discussed in Pavia, associated with the proper name of each of the Three Chapters, suggest that the theological questions were being addressed for the first time since Pelagius II's third letter, written by Gregory I. The Roman decision to burn the books of the opposite camp certainly did not help to keep the memory of the schism alive. But there were many other reasons for forgetting the controversy. Once the defenders of the Three Chapters had accepted that the Fifth Council in every respect agreed with the Fourth, the controversy became exactly what Gregory had defined: a question about nothing.²⁹ There was no glory to be found in having fought against Rome. Local historians and churchmen were not to cultivate the memory of the schism; the issue of the quarrel was forgotten. It became no more than an enigmatic name to puzzle chroniclers.

²⁸ Jacques Noret, 'La rédaction de la *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* (CPG 7698) de saint Maxime le Confesseur serait-elle postérieure à 655?', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 117 (1999), 291–96.

²⁹ See Carole Straw, 'Much Ado About Nothing: Gregory the Great's Apology to the Istrians', in this volume.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61
Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Philipps 1737 (fols 38–43)
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1
Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Augiensis CCXLI
London, British Library, MS Harley 2637
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 147 sup.
Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 660 (fols 75–142)
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 855
Vatican, Biblioteca Vaticana Apostolica, lat. 5750

Collected Works and Conciliar Acts

Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum iussu atque mandato Societatis Scientiarum Argentoratensis. Ed. by Eduard Schwartz, cont. by Johannes Straub. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1914–84
The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon. Trans. with introduction and notes by Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, 2 vols. Translated Texts for Historians, 45. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005
Akten der Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449. Ed. by Johannes Flemming with a German trans. by G. Hoffmann. Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, NF, 15. Berlin: Weidmann, 1917
Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII. Ed. by Theodor Mommsen, 3 vols. MGH, *AA*, 9, 11, 13. Berlin: Weidmann, 1892–98
Codices Latini Antiquiores. Ed. by E. A. Lowe, 12 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–71
Collectio Avellana. Ed. by Otto Günther. CSEL, 35.1. Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1895
Concilia Africae a. 345–a. 525. Ed. by Charles Munier. CCSL, 149. Turnhout: Brepols, 1974
Concilia Galliae a. 511–a. 695. Ed. by Charles de Clercq. CCSL, 148A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1963

- Cronica de singulis patrarbis nove Aquileie*. Ed. by Giovanni Monticolo in *Cronache veneziane antichissime*. Fonti per la storia d'Italia pub. dall' Istituto storico italiano. Scrittori, secoli X–XI. Rome: Forzani, 1890
- Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*. Ed. and trans. by Norman P. Tanner. London: Sheed and Ward, 1990
- Ephèse et Chalcédoine, Actes des conciles*. Ed. and trans. by A. J. Festugière. Paris: Beauchesne, 1982
- Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, vol. 1. Ed. by Wilhelm Gundlach, Ernst Dümmler, and others. MGH, *Epp*, 3. Berlin: Weidmann, 1892
- Epistolae Romanorum pontificum genuinae et quae ad eos scriptae sunt*, vol. 1: *A S. Hilario usque ad Pelagium II*. Ed. by Andreas Thiel. Braunsberg: Eduard Peter, 1867–68
- Histoire de la persécution vandale en Afrique: Victor de Vita, suivé de La passion des sept martyrs, [et] Registre des provinces et des cités d'Afrique*. Ed. and trans. into French by Serge Lancel. Paris: Belles lettres, 2002
- Italia pontificia: sive repertorium privilegiorum et litterarum a Romanis pontificibus ante annum MCLXXXVIII Italiae: ecclesiis, monasteriis, civitatibus singulisque personis concessorum*. Ed. by Paul Fridolin Kehr, 11 vols. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1925.
- Jus graecoromanum*. Ed. by Karl E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, 8 vols. Aalen: Scientia, 1962
- Le Liber pontificalis*. Text, introduction, and commentary by Louis Duchesne, 2 vols. Paris: E. Thorin, 1886–92
- Die Nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*. Ed. by J.-O. Tjäder, 3 vols. Lund: Gleerup, 1954–82
- Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*. Ed. by Philippe Jaffé, 2nd edn corrected by Wilhelm Wattenbach, 2 vols. Leipzig: Veit, 1885–88
- Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Ed. by Joannes Dominicus Mansi, 54 vols. Paris: H. Welter, 1901–27
- Thesaurus linguae latinae, editus auctoritate et consilio academiarum quinque Germanicarum Berolinensis, Gottingensis, Lipsiensis, Monacensis, Vindobonensis*, 10 vols, in course of publication. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1900–

Individual Authors

Agnellus of Ravenna

- Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*. Ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger. MGH, *SrLI*, pp. 265–391. Hannover: Hahn, 1878

Alcuin

- Liber contra haeresim Felicis*. Ed. by Gary B. Blumenshine. ST, 285. Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980

Anonymous

- Carmen de synodo Ticinensi*. Ed. by Ludwig Bethmann. In *Pauli Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Ludwig Bethmann and Georg Waitz, MGH, *SrLI*, *Appendix*, II, pp. 189–91. Hannover: Hahn, 1878

Avitus of Vienne

Avitus of Vienne: Letters and Selected Prose. Trans. and commentary by Danuta Shanzer and Ian Wood. Translated Texts for Historians, 38. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002

Opera quae supersunt. Ed. by Rudolph Peiper. MGH, *AA*, 6.2. Berlin: Weidmann, 1883

Cassiodorus

Cassiodori senatoris Institutiones. Ed. by R. A. B. Mynors. Corrected reprint. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961

Cassiodorus: Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning and On the Soul. Trans. with notes by James W. Halporn, introd. by Mark Vessey. Translated Texts for Historians, 42. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004

Expositio Psalmorum. Ed. by M. Adriaen, 2 vols. CCSL, 97–98. Turnhout: Brepols, 1958

Historia ecclesiastica tripartita. Ed. by Walter Jacob and Rudolph Hanslik. CSEL, 71. Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1952

Columbanus

Opera. Ed. by G. S. M. Walker. *Scriptores latini Hiberniae*, 2. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957

Corippus, Flavius Cresconius

In Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris libri IV. In *Corippus Africani grammatici libri qui supersunt*, ed. by Joseph Partsch, MGH, *AA*, 3.2, pp. 111–56. Berlin: Weidmann, 1879

Ennodius

Opera. Ed. by Friedrich Vogel. MGH, *AA*, 7. Berlin: Weidmann, 1885

Facundus of Hermiane

Opera omnia. Ed. by Jean-Marie Clément and Roland Vander Plaetse. CCSL, 90A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1974

Pro defensione trium capitulorum (Défense des trois chapitres, à Justinien). Ed. and trans. into French by Anne Fraisse-Bétoulières, 5 vols. SC 471, 478, 479, 484, 499. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2002–06

Ferrandus

Epistolae et opuscula. PL, 67, cols 887–950

Fulgentius of Ruspe

Opera. Ed. by J. Fraipont, 2 vols. CCSL, 91–91A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1968

Gregory I the Great

Registrum epistolarum. Ed. by Paul Ewald and Ludo M. Hartmann, 2 vols. MGH, *Epp*, 1–2. Berlin: Weidmann, 1887–99

Registrum epistolarum. Ed. by Dag Norberg, 2 vols. CCSL, 140–140A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1982

John of Biclar

Iohannis Abbatís Biclarensis Chronica. In *Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII*, vol. II, ed. by Theodor Mommsen, MGH, *AA*, 11, pp. 207–20. Berlin: Weidmann, 1894

Victor Tunnunensis, Iohannes Biclarensis: Chronicon cum reliquiis ex Consularibus Caesaraugustanis – Chronicon. Ed. by Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann. CCSL, 173A. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002

Junillus

Exegesis and Empire in the Early Byzantine Mediterranean: Junillus Africanus and the Instituta regularia divinae legis. Trans. with introd. by Michael Maas and a contribution by Edward G. Mathews, Jr, with the Latin text established by Heinrich Kihn. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003

Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten: nebst einer kritischen Textausgabe von des letzteren Instituta regularia divinae legis. Ed. by Heinrich Kihn. Fribourg en Brisgau: Herder'sche, 1880

Justinian

Corpus Juris Civilis. Ed. by Paul Krueger, Theodor Mommsen, and others, 3 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1900–05

Leo I the Great

S. Leonis Magni epistulae contra Eutyichis haeresim. Ed. by Carlo Silva-Tarouca. Textus et documenta, Series theologica, 15, 20. Rome: Gregorian University, 1934–35

Leontius

Libri tres contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos. PG, 86, cols 1267–1396

Liberatus of Carthage

Breuiarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum. Ed. by Eduard Schwartz. ACO, II.5, pp. 98–141

Paul the Deacon

Historia Langobardorum. Ed. by Ludwig Bethmann and Georg Waitz. MGH, *SrLI*, pp. 12–187. Hannover: Hahn, 1878. Also ed. by Georg Waitz. MGH, *SrG*, 48. Hannover: Hahn, 1878

Historia Romana. Ed. by Hans Droysen. MGH, *SrG*, 49. Berlin: Weidmann, 1879

History of the Lombards. Trans. by William Dudley Foulke and ed. by Edward Peters. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975; repr. 2003

Storia dei Longobardi, ed. by Lidia Capo, 4th edn (Milan: Mondadori, 1998)

Pelagius I

Epistulae quae supersunt. Ed. by Pius M. Gassò and Columba M. Batlle. Scripta et documenta, 8. Montserrat: In Abatia Montiserrati, 1956

Pelagii diaconi ecclesiae Romanae in defensione trium capitulorum: texte latine du manuscrit aurelianensis 73 (70). Ed. by Robert Devrèesse. ST, 57. Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 1932

Pelagius II

Epistolae Pelagii Iunioris Papae ad episcopos Histriae. In Gregory, *Registrum epistolarum*, vol. II: *Libri VIII–XIV*, ed. by Paul Ewald and Ludo M. Hartmann, MGH, *Epp*, 2, *Appendix*, III, pp. 442–67. Berlin: Weidmann, 1899

Pontianus

Epistola Pontiani episcopi ad Justinianum imperatorem. De tribus capitulis. PL, 67, cols 995–98

Primasius

Commentarius in Apocalypsin. Ed. by W. Adams. CCSL, 92. Turnhout: Brepols, 1985

Procopius

Opera omnia. Ed. by Jacob Haury, augmented and corrected by Gerhard Wirth, 4 vols. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1962; Munich: K. G. Saur, 2001

Procopius. Ed. and trans. by Henry Bronson Dewing, 7 vols (vol. VII with Glanville Downey). Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1914–40

Venantius Fortunatus

Opera poetica. Ed. by Friedrich Leo. MGH, *AA*, 4.1. Berlin: Weidmann. 1881

Venance Fortunat, Poèmes. Ed. by Marc Reydellet, 3 vols. Collection des universités de France. Paris: Belles Lettres, 1994–2004

Verecundus of Junca

Commentarii super cantica ecclesiastica, Carmen de satisfactione Paenitentiae. Ed. by R. Demeulenaere. CCSL, 93. Turnhout: Brepols, 1976

Verecundi Iuncensis Carmen de paenitentia. Ed. and trans. into Italian by Maria G. Bianco. Naples: M. D'Auria, 1984

Victor of Tunnena (= Tonnenna)

Victor Tunnunensis, Iohannes Biclarenensis: Chronicon cum reliquiis ex Consularibus Caesar-augustanis – Chronicon. Ed. by Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann. CCSL, 173A. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002

Victoris episcopi Tonnennensis chronica. In *Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII*, vol. II, ed. by Theodor Mommsen, MGH, *AA*, 11, pp. 178–206. Berlin: Weidmann, 1894

Vittore da Tunnuna Chronica: Chiesa e Impero nell'età di Giustiniano. Ed. by Antonio Placanica. Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1997

Vigilius, Pope

Epistolae et decreta. *PL*, 69, cols 15–144

Vigiliusbriefe. Ed. by Eduard Schwartz. Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Abt., 1940, 2. Munich: Die Akademie, 1940

Vigilius of Thapse

Contra Eutychetem libri quinque. *PL*, 62, cols 95–154

Modern Studies

Abramowski, Luise. 'Die Mosaiken von S. Vitale und S. Apollinare in Classe und die Kirchenpolitik Kaiser Justinians'. *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum*, 5 (2001), 289–331 + plates

Alzati, Cesare. "Pro sancta fide, pro dogma patrum": La tradizione dogmatica delle chiese italiane di fronte alla questione dei tre capitoli. Caratteri dottrinali e implicazioni ecclesiologiche dello scisma'. In Alzati. *Ambrosiana Ecclesia: Studi su la chiesa milanese e l'ecumene cristiana fra tarda antichità e medioevo*, Archivio Ambrosiano, 65, pp. 97–130. Milan: NED, 1993

- Amann, Émile. 'Trois-Chapitres'. In *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. by A. Vacant and others, 15 volumes, XV.2, cols 1868–1924. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1903–50
- Aquileia e l'arco: atti della XX settimana di studi aquileiesi*. Udine: Arti grafiche friulane, 1990
- Archi, Gian Gualberto. *Giustiniano legislatore*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1970
- . 'Il diritto nell'azione politica di Giustiniano'. In *Diritto e potere nella storia europea: atti in onore di Bruno Paradisi*, Quarto Congresso internazionale della Società italiana di storia del diritto, 2 vols, I, 107–23. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1982
- Azzara, Claudio. 'La figura di Gregorio Magno nell'opera di Paolo Diacono'. In *Paolo Diacono*, ed. by Chiesa, pp. 29–38
- . *L'ideologia del potere regio nel papato altomedievale: secoli VI–VIII*. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1997
- . 'Papa Pelagio I (556–561) e le *Venetiae*'. In *Tempi, uomini ed eventi di storia veneta: Studi in onore di Federico Seneca*, ed. by Sergio Perini, pp. 45–52. Rovigo: Minelliana, 2003
- . *Venetiae: Determinazione di un'area regionale fra antichità e alto medioevo*. Treviso: Fondazione Benetton, Canova, 1994; repr. 2002
- Balzaretti, Ross. 'Theodelinda, Most Glorious Queen: Gender and Power in Lombard Italy'. *Medieval History Journal*, 2 (1999), 183–207
- Barnish, Samuel. 'The Work of Cassiodorus After his Conversion'. *Latomus: Revue d'études latines*, 48 (1989), 157–87
- Bartolini, Elio. *Paolo Diacono, Storia dei Longobardi*, 2nd edn. Milan: Editori Associati, 1990
- Berg, Heinrich. 'Bischöfe und Bischofssitze im Ostalpen- und Donauraum vom 4. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert'. In *Die Bayern und ihre Nachbarn*, ed. by Herwig Wolfram and Andreas Schwarcz, Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse, 179–80, I, 61–108. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985
- Bertolini, Ottorino. 'Riflessi politici delle controversie religiose con Bisanzio nelle vicende del secolo VII in Italia'. In *Caratteri del secolo VII in Occidente*, 2 vols, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 5, II, 733–89. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1958
- . *Roma di fronte a Bisanzio e ai Longobardi*. Bologna: L. Cappelli, 1941
- Bethmann, Ludwig. 'Paulus Diaconus Leben und Schriften'. *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 10 (1851), 247–334
- Bianchi, Dante. 'L'epitafio di Ilderico e la leggenda di Paolo Diacono'. *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 131/32 (1954/55), 56–115
- Boesch Gajano, Sofia. *Gregorio Magno – alle origini del medioevo*. Rome: Viella, 2004
- Bognetti, Gian Piero. *L'età longobarda*, 4 vols. Milan: Giuffrè, 1966–68
- . 'Milano longobarda'. In *Storia di Milano*, 16 vols, II, 55–299. Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la storia di Milano, 1953–62
- Borias, A. 'Saint Wandrille et la crise monothélite', *Revue Bénédictine*, 97 (1987), 42–67
- Brown, Thomas S. 'La chiesa di Ravenna durante il regno di Giustiniano'. *Corso di cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina: Seminario Giustiniano, Ravenna, 6–14 marzo 1983*, 30 (1983), 23–47
- . 'The Church of Ravenna and the Imperial Administration in the Seventh Century'. *English Historical Review*, 94 (1979), 1–28

- . *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554–800*. London: British School at Rome, 1984
- Bullough, Donald. 'The Career of Columbanus'. In *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, ed. by Michael Lapidge, pp. 1–28. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997
- The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*. Ed. by Michael Maas. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005
- Cameron, Averil. 'Byzantine Africa: The Literary Evidence'. In *Excavations at Carthage*, vol. VII, ed. by J. H. Humphrey, pp. 29–62. Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan, 1982
- . *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium*. Variorum Reprints. London: Variorum, 1981
- . 'The Early Religious Policies of Justin II'. *Studies in Church History*, 13 (1976), 51–67. Repr. in Cameron, *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium*, X
- Cammarosano, Paolo. 'Aquileia e Grado nell'alto Medioevo'. In *Aquileia e l'arco: atti della XX settimana di studi aquileiesi*, pp. 129–55. Udine: Arti grafiche friulane, 1990
- Camps, Gabriel. *Berbères: Aux marges de l'histoire*. Paris: Éditions des Hespérides, 1980
- Caspar, Erich. *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft*, 2 vols. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1930–33
- Castaldi, Luca. 'Nuovi testimoni della *Vita Gregorii* di Paolo Diacono (BHL 3639)'. In *Paolo Diacono*, ed. by Chiesa, pp. 75–126
- Cavadini, John. *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785–820*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993
- Cervani, Roberta. 'La fonte tridentina della *Historia Langobardorum* di Paolo Diacono'. *Atti dell'Accademia Roveretana degli Agiati*, 236 (1986), 97–103
- Cesa, Maria. 'La pacificazione della Libia nella "Iohannis" di Corippo'. *Civiltà classica e cristiana*, 6 (1985), 77–88
- Chadwick, Henry. *The Church in Ancient Society: From Galilee to Gregory the Great*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001
- Chamard, François. 'Polémique – les papes du VI^e siècle et le second concile de Constantinople – réponse à M. l'Abbé Duchesne'. *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 37 (1885), 540–94
- Chazelle, Celia. *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001
- . 'Memory, Instruction, Worship: "Gregory's" Influence on Early Medieval Doctrines of the Artistic Image'. In *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*, ed. by Cavadini, pp. 181–215
- . 'Pictures, Books and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles'. *Word and Image*, 6 (1990), 138–53
- Christie, N. 'Byzantine Liguria: An Imperial Province Against the Lombards, A.D. 568–643'. *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 58 (1990), 229–71
- Chrysos, Evangelos. *The Ecclesiastical Policy of Justinian in the Controversy of the Three Chapters and the Fifth Ecumenical Council* [in Greek]. Thessalonica: Patriarchikon Hidryma Paterikon Meleton, 1969
- . 'Tmēmata tōn praktikōn tēs E' oikoumenikēs synodou para Byzantinois chronographois'. *Klēronomia*, 2 (1970), 376–401
- Cingolani, Stefano. *Le Storie dei Longobardi: Dall'origine a Paolo Diacono*. Rome: Viella, 1995
- Courtois, Christian. *Les Vandales et l'Afrique*. Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1955

- Crakanthorpe, Richard. *Vigilius dormitans. Romes seer overseene. Or a treatise of the fift generall councill held at Constantinople, anno 553 under Justinian the Emperour. The Occasion being those Tria Capitula, which for many yeares troubled the whole Church. Wherein is proved that the popes Apostolicall Constitution and Definitive Sentence in Matter of Faith, was condemned as hereticall by the Synod. And the exceeding frauds of Cardinall Baronius and Binius are clearly discovered.* London, 1631; re-edited in 1637
- Cuscito, Giuseppe. 'Aquileia e Bisanzio nella controversia dei Tre Capitoli'. In *Aquileia e l'Oriente mediterraneo*, vol. I, Antichità alto Adriatiche, 12, pp. 231–62. Aquileia: Centro di antichità altoadriatiche; Udine: Arte grafiche friulane, 1977
- . 'La Chiesa aquileiese'. In *Storia di Venezia*, vol. I: *Origini–Età ducale*, ed. by Ruggini and Pavan, pp. 367–408
- . 'La fede calcedonese e i concili di Grado (579) e di Marano (591)'. In *Grado nella storia e nell'arte*, 2 vols, Settimana di studi aquileiese, 10, I, 207–30. Udine: Arte grafiche friulane, 1980
- . 'La politica religiosa della corte longobarda di fronte allo scisma dei Tre Capitoli'. In *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, Milano 21–25 Ottobre 1978*, 2 vols, II, 373–81. Spoleto: Presso La Sede del Centro Studi, 1978
- . 'Testimonianze epigrafiche sullo scisma tricapitolino'. *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 53 (1977), 235–36
- Dagon, Gilbert. *Empereur et prêtre: Etude sur le 'césaropapisme' byzantin*. Paris: Gallimard, 1996. Trans. into English by Jean Birrell as *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003
- Delogu, Paolo. 'Il regno longobardo'. In Delogu, Guillou, and Ortalli, *Longobardi e Bizantini*, pp. 3–216
- Delogu, Paolo, André Guillou, and Gherardo Ortalli. *Longobardi e Bizantini*. Storia di Italia, 1. Turin: UTET, 1980
- Diehl, Charles. *L'Afrique byzantine: histoire de la domination byzantine en Afrique (533–709)*. Paris: E. Leroux, 1896
- Diekamp, Franz. *Die origenistische Streitigkeit im sechsten Jahrhundert und das fünfte allgemeine Konzil*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1899
- Diepen, Herman M. *Les Trois Chapitres au Concile de Chalcédoine: Une étude de la christologie de l'Anatolie ancienne*. Oosterhoud: Éditions de Saint Michel, 1953
- Duchesne, Louis. *L'Église au VI^e siècle*. Paris: Fontemoing, 1925
- . 'Vigile et Pélage: Etude sur l'histoire de l'église romaine au milieu du VI^e siècle'. *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 36 (1884), 369–439
- Duval, Yvette. 'Grégoire et l'Eglise d'Afrique: Les "hommes du Pape"'. In *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo: XIX Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità, in collaborazione con l'Ecole française de Rome, Roma, 9–12 maggio 1990*, 2 vols, I, 129–58. Rome: Institutum Patristicum 'Augustinianum', 1991
- Les Eglises d'Orient et d'Occident*. Ed. by Luce Pietri, with the collaboration of Brigitte Beaujard and others. Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours, 3. Paris: Desclée, 1998
- Eno, Robert. 'Doctrinal Authority in the African Ecclesiology of the Sixth Century: Ferrandus and Facundus'. *Revue des études augustinienes*, 22 (1976), 95–113
- . 'Papal Damage Control in the Aftermath of the Three Chapters Controversy'. *Studia Patristica*, 19 (1989), 52–56

- Everett, Nicholas. *Literacy in Lombard Italy, c. 568–774*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003
- Fanning, Steven C. 'Lombard Arianism Reconsidered'. *Speculum*, 56 (1981), 241–58
- Fedalto, Giorgio. 'Organizzazione ecclesiastica e vita religiosa nella "Venetia maritima"'. In *Le origini di Venezia*, ed. by Antonio Carile and Giorgio Fedalto, pp. 251–415. Bologna: Pàtron, 1978
- Feissel, Denis. 'Un acte de la préfecture d'Afrique sur l'Eglise de Byzacène au début du règne de Justin II'. *Antiquité tardive*, 11 (2003), 97–112
- Fiaccadori, Gianfranco. 'Cassiodorus and the School of Nisibis'. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 39 (1985), 135–37
- Frend, W. H. C. *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement: Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972
- Il futuro dei Longobardi: L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno: Saggi*. Ed. by Carlo Bertelli and Gian Pietro Brogiolo. Milan: Skira; Brescia: Commune di Brescia, Civici musei d'arte e storia, 2000
- Galtier, Paul. 'L'Occident et le Néochalcédonisme'. *Gregorianum*, 40 (1959), 54–72
- Gardiner, Ken. 'Paul the Deacon and Secundus of Trento'. In *History and Historians in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Brian Croke and Alanna M. Emmet, pp. 147–53. Sydney: Pergamon, 1983
- Garnier, Jean. *Dissertatio ad Liberatum de quinta synodo et quae eam praecesserunt*. PL, 78, cols 1051–96
- . *Dissertatio critica de quinta synodo generalis*, PG, 84, cols 455–548
- Gasparri, Stefano. *La cultura tradizionale dei Longobardi: Struttura tribale e resistenze pagane*. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1983
- . *Prima delle nazioni: Popoli, etnie e regni fra Antichità e Medioevo*. Rome: La Nuova Italia Scientifica, 1997
- George, Judith W. *Venantius Fortunatus: A Latin Poet in Merovingian Gaul*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992
- Giardina, Andrea. *L'Italia romana: storie di un'identità incompiuta*. Rome: Laterza, 1997
- Goffart, Walter. *The Narrators of Barbarian History: Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988
- Gorman, Michael. 'The Diagrams in the Oldest Manuscripts of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*'. *Revue Bénédictine*, 110 (2000), 27–41
- Goubert, Paul. *Byzance avant l'Islam*, 2 vols. Paris: A. and J. Picard, 1951–65
- Gray, Patrick T. R. *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451–553)*. Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 20. Leiden: Brill, 1979
- . 'The Legacy of Chalcedon: Christological Problems and their Significance'. In *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. by Maas, pp. 215–38
- Gray, Patrick T. R., and Michael W. Herren. 'Columbanus and the Three Chapters Controversy: A New Approach'. *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 45 (1994), 160–70
- Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo: XIX incontro di studiosi dell'antichità, in collaborazione con l'Ecole française de Rome, Roma, 9–12 maggio 1990*, 2 vols. Rome: Institutum Patristicum 'Augustinianum', 1991
- Gregory the Great: A Symposium*. Ed. by John C. Cavadini. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995

- Grillmeier, Aloys. *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 2 vols (vol. II in collaboration with Theresia Hainthaler). London: Mowbray, 1965–96
- . 'Die Justinianische Revision des Konzils von Chalkedon und die theologische Reaktion des Westens'. In *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, ed. by Grillmeier and Bacht, II, 806–34
- Grisar, Hartmann. 'Die Gregorbiographie des Paulus Diakonus in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt nach italienischen Handschriften'. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 11 (1887), 158–73
- Guillou, André. *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'empire byzantin au VI^e siècle: L'exemple de l'exarchat et de la pentapole d'Italie*. Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1969
- . *Studies on Byzantine Italy*. Variorum Reprints. London: Variorum, 1970
- Halleux, André de. 'La définition christologique à Chalcedoine'. *Revue théologique de Louvain*, 7 (1976), 3–23, 155–70. Repr. in Halleux. *Patrologie et oecuménisme: Recueil d'études*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990, pp. 445–80
- . 'Le vingt-huitième canon de Chalcedoine'. *Studia Patristica*, 19 (1989), 28–36
- Handley, Mark. 'Disputing the End of African Christianity'. In *Vandals, Romans and Berbers*, ed. by Merrills, pp. 291–310
- Hänel, Gustav. 'Über ein unedirtes Gesetz des Kaisers Justinus II'. *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Classe*, 9 (1857), 1–21
- Hefele, Charles-Joseph. *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, 11 vols. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907–52
- Hen, Yitzhak. 'Paul the Deacon and the Frankish Liturgy'. In *Paolo Diacono*, ed. by Chiesa, pp. 205–22
- Herman, Emil. 'Der konstantinopolitanische Primat'. In *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, ed. by Grillmeier and Bacht, II, 457–90
- Herren, Michael W. 'Theological Aspects of the Writings of Paul the Deacon'. In *Paolo Diacono*, ed. by Chiesa, pp. 223–35
- Herrin, Judith. *The Formation of Christendom*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987
- Hofmann, Fritz. 'Der Kampf der Päpste um Konzil und Dogma von Chalkedon von Leo dem Grossen bis Hormisdas (451–519)'. In *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, ed. by Grillmeier and Bacht, II, 13–94
- Hofmann, Heinz. 'Corippus as a Patristic Author?'. *Vigiliae Christianae*, 43 (1989), 361–77
- Judic, Bruno. 'L'influence de Grégoire le Grand dans la Provence du VII^e siècle'. In *L'Eglise et la mission au VI^e siècle: La mission d'Augustin de Cantorbéry et les Eglises de Gaule sous l'impulsion de Grégoire le Grand*, ed. by Christophe de Dreuille, Actes du colloque d'Arles de 1998, pp. 89–120. Paris: Cerf, 2000
- Kennell, S. A. H. *Magnus Felix Ennodius: A Gentleman of the Church*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000
- Kessler, Herbert L. 'Images of Christ and Communication with God'. In *Communicare e significare nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di Studio della fondazione centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 52, pp. 1099–1136 + plates. Spoleto: Presso la sede della fondazione, 2005
- Klingshirn, William E. *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994
- Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Ed. by Aloys Grillmeier and Heinrich Bacht, 3 vols. Würzburg: Echter, 1950–54

- Leclercq, Henri. *L'Afrique chrétienne*, 2 vols. Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1904
- Longobardi e Lombardia: aspetti di civiltà longobardia*. Atti del VI Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1980
- Luiselli, Bruno. 'La società longobardica del secolo VIII e Paolo Diacono storiografo tra romanizzazione e nazionalismo longobardico'. In *Paolo Diacono: Storia dei Longobardi*, ed. by Antonio Zanella, pp. 5–48. Milan: Rizzoli, 1991
- Maas, Michael. *Exegesis and Empire in the Early Byzantine Mediterranean: Junillus Africanus and the Instituta regularia divinae legis*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003
- . 'Junillus Africanus' *Instituta regularia divinae legis* in its Justinianic Context'. In *The Sixth Century, End or Beginning?*, ed. by Pauline Allen and Elizabeth Jeffreys, pp. 131–44. Brisbane: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1996
- Majocchi, Piero. 'La fondazione di Bobbio e la politica religiosa longobarda'. In *La fondazione di Bobbio nello sviluppo delle comunicazioni tra Langobardia e Toscana nel Medioevo: Atti del convegno internazionale*, ed. by Flavio G. Nuvolone, Archivum Bobiense, Studia, 3, pp. 35–56. Bobbio: Associazione culturale amici di archivum Bobiense, 2000
- Mandouze, André. *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, vol. 1: *Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne (303–533)*. Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1982
- Manselli, Raoul. 'La Chiesa longobarda e le Chiese dell'Occidente'. In *Longobardi e Lombardia*, pp. 247–64
- Maraval, Pierre. 'La politique religieuse de Justinien'. In *Les Eglises d'Orient et d'Occident*, ed. by Pietri, pp. 389–426
- Markus, Robert A., 'Carthage – Prima Justiniana – Ravenna: Aspects of Justinian's *Kirchenpolitik*'. *Byzantion*, 49 (1979), 277–306. Repr. in Markus, *From Augustine to Gregory the Great*, XIII
- . 'Christianity and Dissent in Roman Africa: Changing Perspectives in Recent Work'. *Studies in Church History*, 9 (1972), 21–36. Repr. in Markus, *From Augustine to Gregory the Great*, VIII
- . *From Augustine to Gregory the Great: History and Christianity in Late Antiquity*. Variorum Reprints. London: Variorum, 1983
- . *Gregory the Great and his World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997
- . 'Justinian's Ecclesiastical Politics and the Western Church'. In Markus, *Sacred and Secular*, VII. Originally published in Italian as 'La politica ecclesiastica di Giustiniano e la chiesa d'Occidente'. In *Il Mondo del diritto nell'epoca giustiniana: caratteri e problematiche*, ed. by Gian Gualberto Archi, Biblioteca di 'Felix Ravenna', 2, pp. 113–24. Ravenna: Mario Lapucci / Edizioni del girasole, 1985
- . 'Ravenna and Rome, 554–604'. *Byzantion*, 51 (1981), 566–78. Repr. in Markus, *From Augustine to Gregory the Great*, XIV
- . 'Reflections on Religious Dissent in North Africa in the Byzantine Period'. *Studies in Church History*, 3 (1966), 140–49. Repr. in Markus, *From Augustine to Gregory the Great*, VII
- . *Sacred and Secular: Studies on Augustine and Latin Christianity*. Variorum Reprints. London: Variorum, 1994
- Martindale, J. R. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. III: A.D. 527–641. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992
- McCormick, Michael. *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986

- McKitterick, Rosamond. *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004
- Merrills, Andrew H. 'Vandals, Romans and Berbers: Understanding Late Antique North Africa'. In *Vandals, Romans and Berbers*, ed. by Merrills, pp. 3–28
- Meyvaert, Paul. 'A Letter of Pope Pelagius II Composed by Gregory the Great'. In *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*, ed. by Cavadini, pp. 94–116
- Modéran, Yves. 'Les Eglises et la reconquête byzantine, A. l'Afrique'. In *Les Eglises d'Orient et d'Occident*, ed. by Pietri, pp. 699–717
- . 'L'établissement territorial des Vandales en Afrique'. *Antiquité tardive*, 10 (2002), 87–122
- . *Les Maures et l'Afrique romaine, IV^e–VII^e siècle*. Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2003
- . 'Une guerre de religion: Les deux Eglises d'Afrique à l'époque vandale'. *Antiquité tardive*, 11 (2003), 21–44
- Moeller, Charles. 'Le chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme en Orient de 451 à la fin du VI^e siècle'. In *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, ed. by Grillmeier and Bacht, I, 637–720
- Il mondo del diritto nell'epoca giustiniana: Caratteri e problematiche*. Edited by Gian Gualberto Archi. Biblioteca di 'Felix Ravenna', 2. Ravenna: Mario Lapucci/Edizioni del girasole, 1985
- Moorhead, John. 'Gregory of Tours on the Arian Kingdoms'. *Studi Medievali*, 36 (1995), 903–15
- Mor, Carlo Guido. 'Contributi alla storia dei rapporti tra stato e Chiesa al tempo dei Longobardi: La politica ecclesiastica di Autari e Agilulfo'. In Mor, *Scritti di storia giuridica altomedievale*, pp. 535–93
- . 'San Colombano e la politica ecclesiastica di Agilulfo'. In Mor, *Scritti di storia giuridica altomedievale*, pp. 605–14
- . *Scritti di storia giuridica altomedievale*. Pisa: Pacini, 1977
- Morrison, Karl F. *Tradition and Authority in the Western Church, 300–1140*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969
- Munitiz, Joseph. 'Synoptic Greek Accounts of the Seventh Council'. *Revue des études byzantines*, 32 (1974), 147–86
- Noris, P. M. Henrico de. *Historia Pelagiana; & Dissertatio de synodo V. œcumenica in qua Origini ac Theodori Mopsuesteni Pelagiani erroris auctorum iusta damnatio exponitur, et aquileiense schisma describitur*. Padua: Typis Petri Mariæ Frambotti, 1673
- Norris, Richard. 'Chalcedon Revisited: A Historical and Theological Reflection'. In *New Perspectives on Historical Theology: Essays in Memory of John Meyendorff*, ed. by Bradley Nassif, pp. 140–58. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996
- O'Donnell, James J. *Cassiodorus*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979
- Le origini di Venezia*. Edited by Antonio Carile and Giorgio Fedalto. Bologna: Pàtron, 1978
- Ortalli, Gherardo. 'Venezia dalle origini a Pietro II Orseolo'. In Delogu, Guillou, and Ortalli. *Longobardi e Bizantini*, pp. 339–428
- Paolo Diacono: Uno scrittore fra tradizione longobarda e rinnovamento carolingio*. Ed. by Paolo Chiesa. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Cividale del Friuli, Udine, 6–9 maggio 1999. Udine: Forum, 2000
- Paolo Diacono e il Friuli altomedievale (secc. VI–X)*. Atti del XIV Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo, Cividale del Friuli, Bottenicco di Moimacco, 24–29 settembre 1999. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2001

- Paronetto, Vera. 'I Longobardi nell'epistolario di Gregorio Magno'. In *Longobardi e Lombardia*, pp. 559–70
- Pavan, Massimiliano, and Girolamo Arnaldi. 'Le origini dell'identità lagunare'. In *Storia di Venezia*, vol. I: *Origini–Età ducale*, ed. by Ruggini and Pavan, pp. 409–56
- Peitz, Wilhelm. *Das Register Gregors I: Beiträge zur Kenntnis des päpstlichen Kanzlei- und Registerwesens bis auf Gregor VII*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1917
- Pewesin, Wolfgang. 'Imperium, ecclesia universalis, Rom: Der Kampf der afrikanischen Kirche um die Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts'. In *Geistige Grundlagen römischer Kirchenpolitik*, ed. by Erich Seeberg, Robert Holzmann, and Wilhelm Weber, *Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte*, 11. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1937
- Picard, Jean-Charles. *Le souvenir des évêques: Sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au X^e siècle*. Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1988
- Pohl, Walter. 'Deliberate Ambiguity – the Lombards and Christianity'. In *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, ed. by Guyda Armstrong and Ian Wood, *International Medieval Research*, 7, pp. 47–58. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000
- . 'The Empire and the Lombards: Treaties and Negotiations in the Sixth Century'. In *Kingdoms of the Empire: The Integration of Barbarians in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Walter Pohl, *Transformation of the Roman World*, 1, pp. 75–134. Leiden: Brill, 1997
- . 'Gregorio Magno e il regno dei Longobardi'. In *Gregorio Magno, l'impero e i regni*, ed. by Claudio Azzara, forthcoming
- . 'Gregory of Tours and Contemporary Perceptions of Lombard Italy'. In *The World of Gregory of Tours*, ed. by Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood, pp. 131–44. Leiden: Brill, 2002
- . 'Paolo Diacono e la costruzione dell'identità longobarda'. In *Paolo Diacono*, ed. by Chiesa, pp. 413–26
- . 'Paulus Diaconus und die *Historia Langobardorum*: Text und Tradition'. In *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. by Georg Scheibelreiter and Anton Scharer, *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 32, pp. 375–405. Vienna: Oldenbourg, 1994
- . 'Secundus von Trient'. In *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, vol. XXVII, ed. by Johannes Hoops and others, 2nd rev. and expanded edn, pp. 638–39. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004
- Pontal, Odette. *Die Synoden im Merowingerreich*. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1986
- Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, vol. II: *Prosopographie de l'Italie chrétienne (313–604)*, ed. by Charles Pietri and Luce Pietri, 2 vols. Rome: École française de Rome, 1999–2000
- Puliatti, Salvatore. 'I privilegi della chiesa africana nella legislazione di Giustiniano e di Giustino II'. In *Estudios en homenaje al profesor Juan Iglesias*, ed. by Jaime Roset, 3 vols, III, 1577–97. Madrid: Seminario de Derecho Romano 'Ursicino Alvarez', Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1988
- . *Ricerche sulle novelle di Giustino II: La legislazione imperiale da Giustiniano I a Giustino II*, 2 vols. Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1984–91
- Quasten, Johannes. *Patrology*, 4 vols. Utrecht: Spectrum, 1953–86; repr. Westminster, MD: Newman, 1983
- Rando, Daniela. *Una chiesa di frontiera: Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche veneziane nei secoli VI–XII*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994

- Richards, Jeffrey. *Consul of God: The Life and Times of Gregory the Great*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980
- . *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476–752*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979
- Šašel, Jaroslav. 'Il viaggio di Venanzio Fortunato e la sua attività in ordine alla politica bizantina'. *Antichità altoadriatiche*, 19 (1981), 359–75
- Savage, Elizabeth. *A Gateway to Hell, a Gateway to Paradise: The North African Response to the Arab Conquest*. Princeton: Darwin Press, 1997
- Schäferdiek, Knut. 'Die Anfänge des Christentums bei den Goten und der sog. gotische Arianismus'. *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 112 (2001), 295–310
- Schieffer, Rudolf. 'Zur Beurteilung des norditalischen Dreikapitel-Schismas'. *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 87 (1976), 167–201
- Sellers, Robert V. *The Council of Chalcedon: A Historical and Doctrinal Survey*. London: SPCK, 1953
- Sieben, Hermann Josef. *Die Konzilsidee der alten Kirche*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1979
- Simonetti, Manlio. 'Haereticum non facit ignorantia: una nota su Facondo di Ermiane e la sua difesa dei Tre capitoli'. *Orpheus*, n.s., 1 (1980), 76–105
- Simson, Otto Georg von. *Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948
- The Sixth Century, End or Beginning?*. Ed. by Pauline Allen and Elizabeth Jeffreys. Brisbane: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1996
- Sotinel, Claire. 'Le concile, l'empereur, l'évêque'. In *Orthodoxie, christianisme, histoire: Orthodoxy, Christianity, History*, ed. by Susanna Elm, Éric Rebillard, and Antonella Romano, pp. 275–99. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2000
- . 'L'Échec en Occident: l'affaire des Trois Chapitres'. In *Les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident*, ed. by Pietri, pp. 427–55
- . 'Les Églises et la reconquête byzantine, B. L'Italie'. In *Les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident*, ed. by Pietri, pp. 719–36
- . 'Emperors and Popes in the Sixth Century: The Western View'. In *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. by Maas, pp. 267–90
- . *Identité civique et christianisme: Aquilée du III^e au VI^e siècle*. Rome: École française de Rome, 2005
- . *Rhétorique de la faute et pastorale de la réconciliation dans la lettre apologétique contre Jean de Ravenne: un texte inédit de la fin du VI^e siècle*. Collection de l'École française de Rome, 185. Rome: École française de Rome, 1994
- . 'Vigilio'; 'Pelagio I'; 'Pelagio II'. In *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, 3 vols, I, 512–28, 529–36, 541–45. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 2000
- Stein, Ernest. *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. II: *De la disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476–565)*, publiée par Jean-Remy Palanque. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1949
- Štíh, Peter. 'O seznamu škofov v Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* III, 26'. *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Rijeci, Supplement*, 1 (2001), 105–16
- Storia di Venezia*, vol. I: *Origini–Età ducale*, ed. by Lellia Cracco Ruggini and Massimiliano Pavan. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1992
- Straw, Carole. *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988

- Studer, Basil. 'Una persona in Christo: Ein augustinisches Thema bei Leo dem Grossen'. *Augustinianum*, 25 (1985), 453–87
- Tabacco, Giovanni. 'Milano in età longobarda'. In *Milano e i Milanesi prima del Mille (VIII–X secolo)*, Atti del X Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo, pp. 19–43. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1986
- Tandoi, Vincenzo. 'Note alla *Iohannis* di Corippo'. *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, n.s., 52 (1980), 48–89; *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, n.s., 54 (1982), 47–92
- Troncarelli, Fabio. *Vivarium, i libri, il destino*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1998
- Urbina, I. Ortiz de. 'Quali sententia "Tria Capitula" a sede damnata sunt'. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 33 (1967), 198–208
- Uthemann, Karl-Heinz. 'Kaiser Justinian als Kirchenpolitiker und Theologe'. *Augustinianum*, 39 (1999), 5–83
- Vandals, Romans and Berbers: New Perspectives on Late Antique North Africa*. Ed. by Andrew H. Merrills. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004
- Verkerk, Dorothy. *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004
- Vinay, Gustavo. *Alto Medioevo latino: Conversazioni e no*. Naples: Guida, 1978
- Vries, Wilhelm de. *Orient et Occident: Les structures ecclésiales vues dans l'histoire des sept premiers conciles œcuméniques*. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1974
- Wallace-Hadrill, John Michael. *The Barbarian West, 400–1000*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985
- . *The Frankish Church*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983
- Wiegand, Friedrich. *Das Homiliarium Karls des Großen auf seine ursprüngliche Gestalt hin untersucht*. Leipzig: Deichert, 1897; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1972
- Wiles, Maurice F. 'Theodore of Mopsuestia as Representative of the Antiochene School'. In *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 1: *From the Beginnings to Jerome*, ed. by P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans, pp. 489–510. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970
- Wolfram, Herwig. *Die Goten*. 4th edn. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2001
- Wood, Ian. 'Augustine and Gaul'. In *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. by Richard Gameson, pp. 68–82. Stroud: Sutton, 1999
- . 'Augustine's Journey'. *Canterbury Cathedral Journal*, 92 (1998), 28–44
- . 'The Frontiers of Western Europe: Developments East of the Rhine in the Sixth Century'. In *The Sixth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand*, ed. by Richard Hodges and William Bowden, pp. 231–53. Leiden: Brill, 1998
- . 'Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius: *Diplomata* and the *Vita Columbani*'. In *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History: Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. by Alexander Callander Murray, pp. 99–120. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998
- Young, Frances M. *From Nicaea to Chalcedon*. London: SCM Press, 1983
- Zettl, Engelbert. *Die Bestätigung des V. Ökumenischen Konzils durch Papst Vigilius: Untersuchungen über die Echtheit der Briefe 'Scandala' und 'Aetius' (JK. 936–937)*. Bonn: R. Habelt, 1974
- Zironi, Alessandro. *Il monastero longobardo di Bobbio: Crocevia di uomini, manoscritti e culture*. Istituzioni e società, 3. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2004

INDEX

- Abramowski, Luise 161
 Acacian schism 223, 232–3
 Adalhard of Corbie 252
 Adolald (King) 220–1, 246–7
 Adrianus of Pula (Bishop) 254
 Adriatic 117, 209–10, 217–18
 Aemilia 85–87, 99, 212
 Africa 2, 4–8, 12, 39–82, 88, 98, 163,
 202, 229, 245, 266–7, 269–72, 275–7
 Agapetus I (Pope) 74n, 193n, 229, 261
 n.71
 Agatho (Pope) 166
 Agilulf (King) 112–13, 117, 217–21,
 238, 246, 250
 Agnellus of Asolo (Bishop) 254
 Agnellus of Ravenna (Bishop, sixth
 century) 96, 95n, 99, 101, 106, 110
 Agnellus of Trento (Bishop) 209n,
 217, 254, 256
 Agrippinus of Como (Bishop) 114
 Aguntum 107
 Alamans 111
 Alcuin 259
 Alexandria 2, 7, 18, 29, 57n, 66, 88,
 132n, 193n, 210; *see also* under indi-
 vidual bishops
 Alpes cortiae 85
 Alps 237
 Altinum 256
 Amandus 239–40
 Amann, Emile 11
 Ambrose of Milan (Bishop) 62, 93, 114
 Anastasius (Pope) 229
 Anastasius of Antioch (Patriarch) 149,
 152, 153n
 Anastasius of Pavia (Bishop) 263
 Anatolius of Constantinople (Patri-
 arch) 132, 134–6, 138–9, 143–4
 Anselm of Lucca 104
 Antalas 69n, 70
 Antioch 7, 17, 20–4, 26, 133n; *see also*
 under individual patriarchs
 Antony of Grado 253
 Aquileia 5, 9–10, 12–13, 85–7, 92–3,
 95–6, 99–113, 117, 119, 209–22, 223,
 226, 236, 238, 245, 249–50, 255–60,
 264, 271, 273–4, 277; *see also* coun-
 cils and individual patriarchs
 Arabs 270
 Ariobindus (*patricius*) 71
 Arioldus (King) 221
 Aripert I (King) 260
 Arles 224, 226, 229, 231, 234, 237
 Attila 221
 Audoin of Rouen (Bishop) 240

- Augustine of Canterbury (Archbishop) 229, 237, 239, 241
 Augustine of Hippo (Bishop) 53, 60, 66n, 73, 103, 146, 158, 184–5, 190–6, 202–3, 267
 Augsburg 114
 Aurelian of Arles (Bishop) 225, 231–2
 Austrasia 231, 240
 Authari (King) 262
 Avitus of Vienne (Bishop) 233–4
 Azzara, Claudio 13, 275
- Barnish, Samuel 164, 201
 Baronius, Cesare (Cardinal) 10
 Basilides 27n
 Basilius (consul) 49
 Batlle, Columba 229
 Bavaria 260
 Bede 165–9, 170n, 204n, 258–9, 261
 Belisarius 39, 40, 82n, 92
 Benedict Biscop 166
 Benenatus of Prima Justiniana (Bishop) 266
 Bianco, Maria G. 62
 Bobbio 239, 259–60
 Boethius (primate) 50, 55, 64, 73
 Bognetti, Gian Pietro 219
 Boniface (papal legate) 133n
 Boniface II (Pope) 229
 Boniface IV (Pope) 232, 238, 251
 Bonifatius of Carthage (Bishop) 63, 77n
 Bonosus 27n
 Brescia 112
 Brumasius (Bishop) 57
 Brunhild (Queen) 6, 230, 237
 Burgundy 86
 Byzacena 39n, 45, 56, 69, 70–80, 269
- Caecilian 146
 Caesarea 39
 Caesarius of Arles (Bishop) 226, 231–2, 234–5, 265
 Cameron, Averil 68
 Candidianus (Bishop) 216, 218
 Candidus (papal *vicedominus*) 237
 Canterbury 239; *see also* Augustine of Canterbury
 Capreolus of Carthage (Bishop) 62
 Carthage 40, 51, 53, 55, 57n, 70–1, 76–7, 80–1, 269–71
 Caspar, Erich 5
 Cassiodorus 6, 10, 12–13, 161–205, 276
 Celestine (Pope) 229
 Celsus 36
 Ceolfrid 166–7
 Cerinthus 27n
 Charlemagne 13, 204n, 244–5
 Chazelle, Celia 13, 276
 Childebert I (King) 226–31, 235n
 Childebert II (King) 111
 Chlothar I (King) 235n
 Chrysonius (Bishop) 57
 Cissa 114
 Cividale 118, 216, 245, 257, 258
 Clarissimus (Bishop) 254
 Clovis II (King) 240
 Columbanus 6, 232, 234, 238–9, 277
 Como 112
 Constantinople 3–4, 10n, 13, 23, 33n, 35n, 40, 45–7, 50, 52n, 57, 60n, 64, 66n, 68n, 73, 75, 78–9, 86–92, 97, 108, 112, 121, 123, 133, 162, 164, 189, 200, 225, 234, 239, 245, 249, 254, 258, 261, 266, 270, 275; *see also* under individual patriarchs
 Constantius of Milan (Bishop) 111–14, 149, 250
 Corippus 70n, 71–2, 81
 Cormòns 216

Corsano, Karen 200, 205

Councils:

Antioch (438) 52n

Berytus (449) 22, 29–31

Carthage (525) 63n, 64, 76

Carthage (535) 40, 48, 74

Carthage (550) 48–50, 268

Chalcedon (451, Fourth Ecumenical) 2–3, 7, 12, 17–37, 44, 49, 51n, 52n, 57n, 61–2, 66–7, 81, 91, 109, 117, 121–4, 128–30, 131–4, 135n, 139, 141, 143, 145, 147, 150, 153n, 155–7, 165, 195, 197, 199–201, 209, 214–15, 225, 227–30, 232–3, 238–9, 245, 248, 252–3, 260, 263, 269, 275–8

Chalon-sur-Saone (647–53) 239–40

Constantinople I (381, Second Ecumenical) 37, 123, 153n, 225, 228–30

Constantinople (448) 19

Constantinople II (553, Fifth Ecumenical) 4, 6, 8–12, 25, 27, 33n, 35–6, 43, 52n, 54, 55n, 57, 75–6, 85, 89, 91, 93, 98, 101, 105, 108, 116, 121, 123, 125–6, 135n, 136n, 144–7, 150–1, 153, 154n, 156, 158, 160, 163, 165, 226, 229, 230n, 238, 246n, 249–50, 253, 258–60, 264–6, 268, 277–8

Constantinople III (680–1, Sixth Ecumenical) 253 n.39, 261

Ephesus (431, Third Ecumenical) 18, 22–6, 62, 123, 135n, 137n, 147–8, 150–2, 154–5, 225, 228–30, 259

Ephesus (449, Robber Council) 19, 21–3, 30–1, 125, 128n, 130–4, 136, 147, 150–1, 228

Grado 114–15, 117, 214

Junci (Byzacena, 523) 45, 61, 63

Lateran (649) 8, 35, 239–40

Mantua (827) 118, 217n, 218n, 255

Marano 114–15, 214–15, 254–7, 264

Nicea (325, First Ecumenical) 65–6, 72n, 81, 123, 133–9, 150, 197, 200–1, 225, 228, 229–30

Orléans III (538) 231

Orléans IV (541) 235n. 56

Orléans V (549) 223–5, 231, 239, 265

Paris (551/2) 231

Pavia 260–1, 277

Rome (769) 247 n. 20

Vaison (529) 235

Vatican I (1869) 11n

Cunipert (King) 114, 260–1, 277–8

Cusina 69

Cyprian of Carthage (Bishop) 59–60, 73, 103, 250n, 267

Cyril of Alexandria (Archbishop) 3, 6, 18–26, 28–9, 31–3, 52n, 137n, 147, 151n, 153–5, 157

Dalmatia 266–7

Damianus of Pavia (Bishop) 260–1

Datianus of Byzacena (primate) 64n, 74n, 77

Datius of Milan (Bishop) 78n, 86–9, 92, 110, 116, 212, 225–6, 232

Deusdedit of Milan (Bishop) 113

Devréesse, Robert 11

Diehl, Charles 47, 56

Diekamp, Franz 11

Dioscorus of Alexandria (Archbishop) 238

Dominicus of Carthage (Bishop) 80

Domnus of Antioch (Bishop) 21

Donatus 57, 59, 204n

Duchesne, Louis 11, 47

Edessa 30–1

Egypt 3, 55n, 132n

- Elias of Aquileia (Archbishop) 115, 119, 122, 214–15, 250, 252–5, 264
 Eligius of Noyon (Bishop) 240
 Elipandus of Toledo (Archbishop) 259
 Emperors:
 Anastasius 3, 60, 65
 Justin I 3
 Justin II 57, 77n, 79, 236, 261–2, 269
 Justinian 1–3, 5–7, 12–13, 17–18, 25, 27n, 30, 33n, 36, 39–82, 85, 87–9, 92, 109–10, 125n, 150, 162–3, 191, 200, 209, 212, 214, 224–5, 227, 231, 235–6, 238, 246, 258, 262, 266, 268–9, 270–3, 275–6
 Justinian II 261
 Leo 129
 Marcian 17, 22, 30, 141, 209
 Maurice 115, 117, 126, 131, 255, 262, 272
 Phocas 257, 270
 Theodosius II 154n
 Valentinian III 154
 Zeno 24, 34
 Ennodius of Milan (Deacon) 86, 93n, 103
 Ennodius of Pavia (Bishop) 74n, 226, 232, 234
 Eno, Robert 61, 74–5
 Epiphanius of Cyprus (Salamis) 169, 197, 201
 Epiphanius Scholasticus 164, 195, 201
 Euchaïta (Pontus) 51, 55n
 Eudoxius (Arian Bishop of Constantinople) 149
 Eufrasius of *Parentium* (Poreč) (Bishop) 99–100, 106, 108
 Eulogius of Alexandria (Archbishop) 149, 150n, 152n
 Eunomius 27n
 Eusebius 148–9, 201
 Eusebius, the Blind 205n
 Eustathius (Bishop) 29
 Eustratios 68
 Eutyches 19, 21, 25, 31–2, 33n, 34, 44, 66n, 67, 125, 132, 135, 140n, 152, 223, 225, 231–3, 238–9, 261
 Evagrius Scholasticus 9
 Facundus of Hermiane 4, 6, 8–9, 27n, 31, 33n, 39–82, 88, 124–5, 135, 138, 152, 164, 245, 268
 Felix (Abbot) 48, 53n, 55n, 58, 75
 Felix, grammarian 261
 Felix III (Pope) 73, 229
 Felix of Rome IV (Pope), 229
 Felix of Treviso (Bishop) 209n, 236
 Felix of Urgel (Bishop) 259
 Ferentino, Latium, Bishop of 94
 Ferrandus of Carthage (Deacon) 4, 7, 27, 31, 41n, 59–61, 64, 66n, 74, 81, 85, 125
 Firmus of Tipasa (Bishop of Numidia) 50–1, 54n, 64, 73
 Flaminia 87, 96
 Flavian of Constantinople (Bishop) 21
 Florianus of Romenus 226, 232
 Fonteius of Feltre (Bishop) 209n, 254
 Fortunatus (schismatic bishop) 113n, 221
 Fossombrone of Flaminia (Bishop) 96
 Francia 13, 91, 107n, 115–16, 213, 219, 223–41, 244
 Fredegar 223
 Friuli 274
 Frontinianus of Salona (Bishop) 267
 Fulgentius of Ruspe 40, 45–6, 61, 63n, 64–5, 74, 81, 125, 267
 Garnier, Jean 11
 Gassò, Pius 229

- Gaul 6–8, 13, 86, 95, 98, 100–1, 109, 210, 223–41, 265–6, 268
 Gelasius (Pope) 60, 87, 229
 Genoa 5, 111, 250, 271, 274, 277
 Genseric (King) 65, 69
 George of Constantinople (Patriarch) 261
 George the Hieromonk 9
 George the Monk (Hamartolos) 9
 George Kedrenos 9
 Gisulf of Friuli (Duke) 217
 Goths 85–7, 90–3, 107, 119
 Grado 107, 109, 111, 114n, 117, 214, 216, 221–2, 253–5, 257, 274
 Gray, Patrick 232
 Gregory (exarch, Africa) 59
 Gregory I the Great (Pope) 6–8, 10, 12, 14, 35n, 58, 80, 103, 109, 112–13, 115–17, 119, 121–60, 209, 216, 219, 230, 237–9, 241, 244–5, 247–9, 252–3, 256–7, 259, 261, 263–4, 266–7, 270, 272–3, 275–6, 278
 Gregory of Nyssa 148
 Gregory of Tours 223, 230, 233n, 245, 256, 262
 Grillmeier, Aloys 43
 Grimoald 262
 Guillou, André 274
 Guntarith (Duke) 51, 69
 Hadrumetum (Huniricopolis) 64n, 71
 Helias of Aquileia, *see* Elias of Aquileia
 Helpidius of Volterra 87n
 Herren, Michael 232, 246
 Hesychius of Jerusalem (Patriarch) 153
 Hilarus of Rome (Pope) 169, 197
 Hilary of Poitiers (Bishop) 164, 197, 200
 Hilderic (King) 64, 65n, 76
 Honorius (Pope) 220–1, 239, 251, 277
 Honorius of Milan (Bishop) 111n
 Hormisdas (Pope), 229, 232–4
 Horontius of Vicenza (Bishop) 254
 Huneric (King) 61, 63, 65n, 67, 81
 Iaudas 69–70
 Ibas of Edessa 3, 17–18, 21–6, 28–33, 35–7, 44, 121, 125, 130, 135, 143, 154, 157–8, 209, 212, 229, 238, 248, 260, 277
 Illyria 3, 46n, 49, 98, 266
 Illyricum 4, 229, 266–8, 277
 Ingenuinus of Sabiona (Bishop), 209n, 254
 Iohannes (*comes*) 95n, 99, 105
 Iohannes (*patricius*) 95n, 100, 104–6, 108
 Iohannes of Aquileia (Archbishop) 117
 Iohannes of Milan (Bishop) 111
 Isaac (exarch, Ravenna) 221
 Isidore of Seville 9–10
 Istria 7, 9–10, 13, 35, 87, 114–60, 209–22, 250
 Italia annonaria 85–7, 91, 101, 274
 Italia suburbicaria 86, 89, 91, 94, 101
 Italy 5–6, 9–10, 12–14, 78, 85–120, 209–22, 238, 243–64, 266, 268, 271–8
 Ivo of Chartres 104
 Jerome 148–9, 167–70, 184, 191, 196–7, 202–3
 Jerusalem 133–4, 162, 167; *see also* individual patriarchs
 John I (Pope) 229
 John II (Pope) 40, 48n, 74, 111, 229
 John of Antioch (Bishop) 23, 25, 29, 52n, 148, 153
 John of Biclar 58n, 256
 John of Parentum (Porec) 253–4

- John of Ravenna (Bishop) 113–14, 253–4, 256
- John Malalas 9
- John Troglita 47n, 52, 70, 82
- Julian of Cingoli (Bishop) 90
- Julian of Cos 30n
- Junior of Verona (Bishop) 209n, 254
- Junci (Byzacena) 71
- Junillus 41n, 64n, 66, 67n, 78n, 190
- Juvenal of Jerusalem (Patriarch) 133–4, 137n, 138–9, 143
- Kühnel, Bianca 189, 198
- Laetus of Nepta 39, 65n
- Laurence (elected pope) 102, 211–12
- Laurentius of Belluno (Bishop) 209n, 254
- Laurentius of Milan (Bishop) 111–12
- Lecce 89
- Leo I (Pope) 7, 13, 19–20, 24, 34–5, 60, 122–30, 131n, 132, 134–7, 139, 140n, 142–4, 146–7, 162n, 165, 211, 227–9, 248, 253
- Leontius of Byzantium 125n, 200
- Lérins 227
- Liberatus of Carthage (Bishop) 8–9, 41n, 54, 56, 63, 66, 75, 77, 268–9
- Liberius (*patricius*) 103
- Liberius (Pope) 211
- Liguria 85–6, 99n, 112
- Lombards 5–7, 12–14, 93, 117, 120, 122, 160, 236, 238, 243–64, 274
- Lyons 231
- Maas, Michael 164
- Macedonius of Aquileia (Archbishop) 92–3, 100, 110, 153n
- Magdeburg Centuriators 10
- Mani 27n
- Manuscripts:
- Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61: 175–80 Figs 6–11, 184–5, 190n, 203–4
- Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Philipps 1737: 184
- Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Philipps 1743: 225
- Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1 (Codex Amiatinus): 162, 165–8 Fig. 1, 169–70, 171–4 Figs 2–5, 175, 184–7, 190–1, 197, 199, 200n, 203, 204n, 205
- Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Augiensis CCXLI: 175n, 204n
- London, British Library, MS Harley 2637: 175n, 204n
- Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 147 sup.: 260n
- Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 660, fols 75–142: 175, Plate 1, 184–5, 203–4
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat., 2334 (Ashburnham Pentateuch): 161, 186
- St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 855: 175n, 203n, 204
- Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4406: 187n
- Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 5750: 260n
- Marcellus of Aquileia (Archbishop) 103
- Marcion 27n
- Mareas, priest, funerary inscription of 90–1
- Mari the Persian, letter to, *see* Ibas of Edessa

- Marius of Avenches (Bishop) 256
 Mark, Saint, throne of (reliquary) 118n
 Markus, Robert 243
 Martin I (Pope) 80, 224, 239–40
 martyrs (of Africa) 39, 51n, 63, 65n, 67, 68n, 81
 Mauritania 39, 40, 68n, 69n
 Maxentius of Zuglio (Bishop) 209n, 254, 255n
 Maximian of Ravenna (Bishop) 87–90, 106, 110, 162, 273
 Maximian of Tuscia (Bishop) 99
 Maximus of Antioch (Patriarch) 24, 28, 30–1, 35, 133, 134n, 136–7
 Maximus the Confessor 33, 278n
 Menas of Constantinople (Patriarch) 43, 44n, 89
 Meyvaert, Paul 122–3, 205, 252
 Milan 5, 12, 86–9, 92–3, 99, 100–4, 107, 109–14, 116, 121, 149, 160n, 175n, 211–13, 220, 225–6, 231, 241, 250, 271, 273–4
 Milo, hagiographer of St Amand 224n, 239, 240n
 Mocianus 52–3, 58, 59n, 60, 64
 Moderan, Yves 12, 267, 271
 Montecassino 175, 204n, 244
 Monza 220
 Moors 40, 43, 47, 52, 69, 70–2, 79, 81–2
 Mount Sinai, church of Justinian 162
 Musicus (Bishop) 57
 Narses (*patricius*) 94, 96n, 107, 153n, 262, 271–2
 Nestorius 17–19, 21–6, 28–9, 31–2, 131–2, 143n, 150n, 153n, 154–5, 157–8, 224–5, 231–3, 238–9
 Nicetius of Trier (Bishop) 225–6, 231–3
 Nisibis 67, 193n
 Nonantola 184
 Noricum 86, 274
 Noris, Henry (Cardinal) 11
 Numidia 39–40, 50–1, 52n, 54–5, 58, 64, 69, 73, 75–6, 80, 269
 O'Donnell, James 161, 164–5
 Opatatus of Tunnuna (Bishop) 64n
 Origen 27, 148–9, 167, 194, 199, 201, 276
 Ostia 94
 Ostrogoths/Ostrogothic kingdom 235, 263
 Pancras, St, church of 94
 Pannonia 274
 Parmenian 59
 Paschasinus (papal representative) 24, 28, 30–1, 133n
 Patras 88
 Patrisius (Bishop) 254
 Paul, Saint 144, 158–9, 276
 Paul (Paulus) of Aquileia (Archbishop) 96, 97, 100–1, 103–5, 109, 236
 Paul II of Constantinople (Patriarch) 239
 Paul of Hadrumentum 71
 Paul of Nisibis (the Persian) 67n
 Paul of Samosata 278
 Paul the Deacon 9, 10n, 13–14, 107n, 111n, 115, 116n, 118, 121n, 122, 123n, 204n, 209n, 215n, 217, 220, 243–64
 Paulinus of Fossombrone (Bishop) 96n, 99
 Pavia 112, 226, 253n, 258, 260–3, 277–8
 Pedena (Padena, Croatia) 114
 Pelagius I (Pope) 4–5, 7–8, 10, 12, 88, 90–1, 93–106, 108–10, 114, 116,

- 117n, 118, 123–6, 128n, 131n, 132n, 146n, 151–2, 153n, 154n, 158, 212–14, 226–31, 239, 245, 253–4, 264, 266, 271–2, 275
- Pelagius II (Pope) 7–8, 12, 35, 114, 115n, 119, 121n, 122, 123n, 124n, 125–6, 130n, 136n, 154n, 158, 215, 237, 250–3, 278
- Perctarit (King of the Lombards) 260, 262
- Perugia 94, 97
- Peter, Saint 119, 144, 240, 276
church of (Vatican) 94, 212
monastery of (Arles) 231
- Peter (Abbot in Africa) 63
- Peter of Altino (Bishop) 211–12, 254, 256
- Peter of Ravenna (Bishop) 234
- Petrus of Altinum (Bishop) 107, 254n, 255n
- Phocas of Stobi (Bishop) 266
- Photius of Tyre (Bishop) 29, 30n, 31
- Plato 36
- Po, river 86, 87, 92
- Pohl, Walter 13–14, 276
- Pompeianus (Bishop, possibly of Pavia) 112
- Pompeianus of Victoriana (Bishop) 54n, 75
- Pontianus of Thana (Bishop) 41n, 44–6, 56, 63, 66–7
- Poreč (Parentium), 100, 106, 108, 253–4
- Price, Richard 12, 277
- Primasius of Hadrumetum (Bishop) 40, 41n, 43n, 50–1, 55–6, 57n, 64, 66, 67n, 73, 75, 78n, 164, 269
- Primigenius of Grado (Bishop) 221
- Primosus of Carthage (Bishop) 53, 55–6, 73, 75, 81, 116n
- Proclus of Constantinople (Patriarch) 21, 52n, 147n, 153
- Proconsularis (African province) 39, 46, 48n, 50, 54n, 55, 64n, 65, 73, 75–6, 80
- Procopius of Caesaria 51n, 68, 69n, 71n, 72, 87, 90
- Proterius of Alexandria (Archbishop) 137n
- Providentius (Archbishop) 217
- Provence 234–5, 237, 241
- Pyrrhus of Constantinople (Patriarch) 277–8
- Quodvultdeus of Carthage (Bishop) 65, 81
- Rabbula of Edessa (Bishop) 147n, 151, 153
- Radegund (Queen) 236
- Ravenna 5, 87–90, 92–3, 95n, 96–7, 99, 101, 106, 107n, 109–10, 113, 115, 116n, 118n, 162, 186n, 209, 215–16, 234–5, 248n, 253–7, 264, 267, 271–3, 278
- Reparatus of Carthage (Bishop) 40, 43n, 50–1, 53, 55, 71–2, 73n, 74n, 75–7, 269
- Rimini 89
- Romanus of Ravenna (*patricius*) 254
- Romenus, monastery, *see* Florianus
- Rotgaud, rebellion of 245
- Rothari (King) 111, 262–3
- Rufinus (Bishop in Africa) 55, 73
- Rufinus (Merovingian legate) 227–8
- Rufinus of Aquileia 197, 200–1
- Ruspe 40, 45, 61, 63n, 64–5, 74, 81, 267
- Rusticus (Roman deacon) 55n, 91, 164
- Rusticus of Treviso (Bishop) 254

- Saffaracus (Bishop) 231
 Salona 116n, 267
 Sapaudus of Arles (Bishop) 226–30
 Sardinia 46n, 74n
 Scarbianta (Sopron in Hungary) 114
 Schäferdiek, Knut 263
 Schwartz, Eduard 11, 30
 Scythia 57n, 123
 monks of 63n, 64, 66
 Sebastianus (Roman deacon) 164
 Secundus of Taormina (Bishop) 96–7, 99
 Secundus of Trent 14, 112, 219, 220, 243–64, 276
 Senarius (*vir illustris*) 233–4
 Serenus of Marseille (Bishop) 237
 Sergios of Tripolitaine (governor) 70
 Sergius I (Pope) 221, 258, 260–1, 264, 277
 Servusdei of Huniricopolis (Hadrumetum, Bishop) 64n
 Severus of Aquileia (Archbishop) 211, 209, 215–16, 221
 Sextilianus of Tunis (Bishop) 54n, 75
 Sicily 4–5, 46, 88, 91, 107n, 112–13
 Sigibert III (King) 239–40
 Silverius (Pope) 71n, 118, 246n
 Simonetti, Manlio 62
 Simplicius (Pope) 229
 Sindual, rebellion of (567) 107n, 108
 Sixtus (Pope) 229
 Smaragdus (exarch) 115, 215, 218, 253–4, 257
 Socrates 150n, 164, 201
 Solomon (general in Africa) 69n, 70
 Sophia (Empress) 236
 Sotinel, Claire 12, 257
 Sozomen 7, 148n, 149–50, 164, 165n, 201
 Spain 86, 265–6
 Squillace 89, 90n, 162, 164
 Stephanus m. 259–60, 277–8
 Stephen of Rome (Deacon and *apocri-siarius*) 88
 Stotzas 69–70
 Straub, Johannes 11
 Straw, Carole 12–13, 277
 Syagrius of Autun (Bishop) 237
 Symmachus (Pope) 102–3, 211, 229
 Synesios of Cyrene (Bishop) 71
 Taormina 94, 96–7, 99
 Tertullian 59, 267
 Theodatus 226
 Theodelinda (Queen) 7, 112, 219n, 220, 246–8, 250–1, 257, 260
 Theodora (Empress) 3, 88, 227, 246
 Theodore of Cebarsussi (Bishop) 56–7, 67, 75, 81
 Theodore of Mopsuestia (Bishop) 3, 7, 11, 17, 21–2, 23n, 25–8, 35, 44, 45n, 53n, 65, 67n, 121, 125n, 128n, 131n, 143, 147–9, 150n, 151–5, 157–8, 164–5, 200–1, 209, 212, 229, 238, 258, 259n, 260, 277
 Theodore Askidas (Bishop) 51, 53n, 89
 Theodoret of Cyrrihus (Bishop) 3, 17–18, 21–2, 24–7, 33, 35n, 36–7, 44, 45n, 121, 125, 128n, 130, 131n, 135, 143, 148, 155, 157, 164, 201, 209, 212, 229, 238, 260, 277
 Theodoric (King) 86, 87n, 102, 211–12
 Theophanes Confessor 9
 Theudebald (King) 231
 Theudebert I (King) 231, 235n
 Theudebert II (King) 247n
 Thrasamund (King) 61, 64, 65n, 74
 Tiberius (Emperor) 262
 Totila (King) 3, 90

- Trent 14, 86, 110, 114, 209, 219, 246, 247n, 254, 256, 276
 Tripolitaine 39n, 47n, 70
 Troncarelli, Fabio 204
 Tryphon (census taker) 68
 Tuscany 100–1, 116, 228
 Tuscia, Bishops of 95–6, 99
 Tuscia Annonaria 87, 96n, 97, 100
 Tuscia et Umbria suburbicaria 87, 96n
 Tyre 29, 30n, 31
 Tyrrhenian Sea 86
- Ulfila 263
- Val di Non 235
 Valentinus 27n
 Valerianus (*patricius*) 92, 95n, 104–6, 108
 Vandals 2, 39, 40n, 45, 52n, 61, 64n, 66n, 67–70, 76–7, 82n, 267–8
 Vatican:
 basilica, *see* Peter, Saint, church of (Vatican)
 first council of (1869) *see* Councils
 Venantius Fortunatus 100n, 231, 235–6, 238, 261
 Venetia (et Histria) 5, 85, 86, 95, 99n, 100, 107, 110–11, 115–17, 210–13, 214n, 235, 271, 274
 Venice 9, 10, 109
 Verecundus of Junci 40, 41n, 43n, 50–1, 71–2, 75
 Verkerk, Dorothy 161–2, 186
 Verona 110, 209n, 254, 260
 Vessey, Mark 193
- Vibius (Bishop) 55, 73
 Victor of Tunnuna (Tonnona) (Bishop) 8, 9, 41n, 42n, 43n, 48n, 49, 50n, 51n, 53–6, 57n, 58, 64, 67, 69n, 73, 75, 116n, 227n, 256n, 266n, 267n, 268–9
 Victor of Vita (Bishop) 48n, 81
 Vigilus (Pope) 3–5, 7–8, 10n, 11–13, 27, 29, 30–1, 32n, 33n, 35, 43, 44n, 46–51, 52n, 54, 56n, 57n, 71n, 73–5, 80, 86, 88–95, 98, 102, 118–19, 123, 125–6, 128n, 130n, 132n, 135, 136n, 146n, 151–3, 154n, 156, 158, 163–4, 194, 209, 212, 224–7, 229–31, 235, 238–9, 253–4, 258, 265, 273–4, 276
 Vigilus of Thapse (Bishop) 65, 67
 Vindemius (Bishop) 253, 254, 255n
 Visigoths 219, 262
 Vitale, San, church of (Ravenna) 162n, 186n
 Vitalianus (general) 100n
 Vitalis of Altinum, Venetia (Bishop) 107
 Vitalis of Milan (Bishop) 93
 Vivarium, monastery 161–205
 Volterra 87, 96n, 99n
- Wallace-Hadrill, Michael 231
 Wandregisel (Bishop) 240
 Wearmouth-Jarrow 165–7, 170n, 184, 186, 197, 203, 204n, 205
 Wood, Ian 13, 265, 277
- Zacchaeus of Squillace (Bishop) 90n, 164

STUDIES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

All volumes in this series are evaluated by an Editorial Board, strictly on academic grounds, based on reports prepared by referees who have been commissioned by virtue of their specialism in the appropriate field. The Board ensures that the screening is done independently and without conflicts of interest. The definitive texts supplied by authors are also subject to review by the Board before being approved for publication. Further, the volumes are copyedited to conform to the publisher's stylebook and to the best international academic standards in the field.

Titles in Series

Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries, ed. by D. Hadley and J. Richards (2000)

On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages, ed. by Andrew Gillett (2002)

Matthew Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England: Linguistic Relations between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English* (2002)

Contact, Continuity, and Collapse: The Norse Colonization of the North Atlantic, ed. by J. H. Barrett (2003)

Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference, ed. by C. Cubitt (2003)

Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages, ed. by P. S. Barnwell and M. Mostert (2003)

Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference, ed. by Matthew Townend (2004)

Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, ed. by Florin Curta (2006)

John D. Niles, *Old English Enigmatic Poems and the Play of the Texts* (2006)

Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000–1200, ed. by Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein (2006)

Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West, ed. by Elizabeth M. Tyler and Ross Balzaretti (2006)

In Preparation

People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300, ed. by Wendy Davies, Guy Halsall, and Andrew Reynolds

John D. Niles, *Old English Poetry and the Social Life of Texts*

Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin, ed. by Alastair Minnis and Jane Roberts

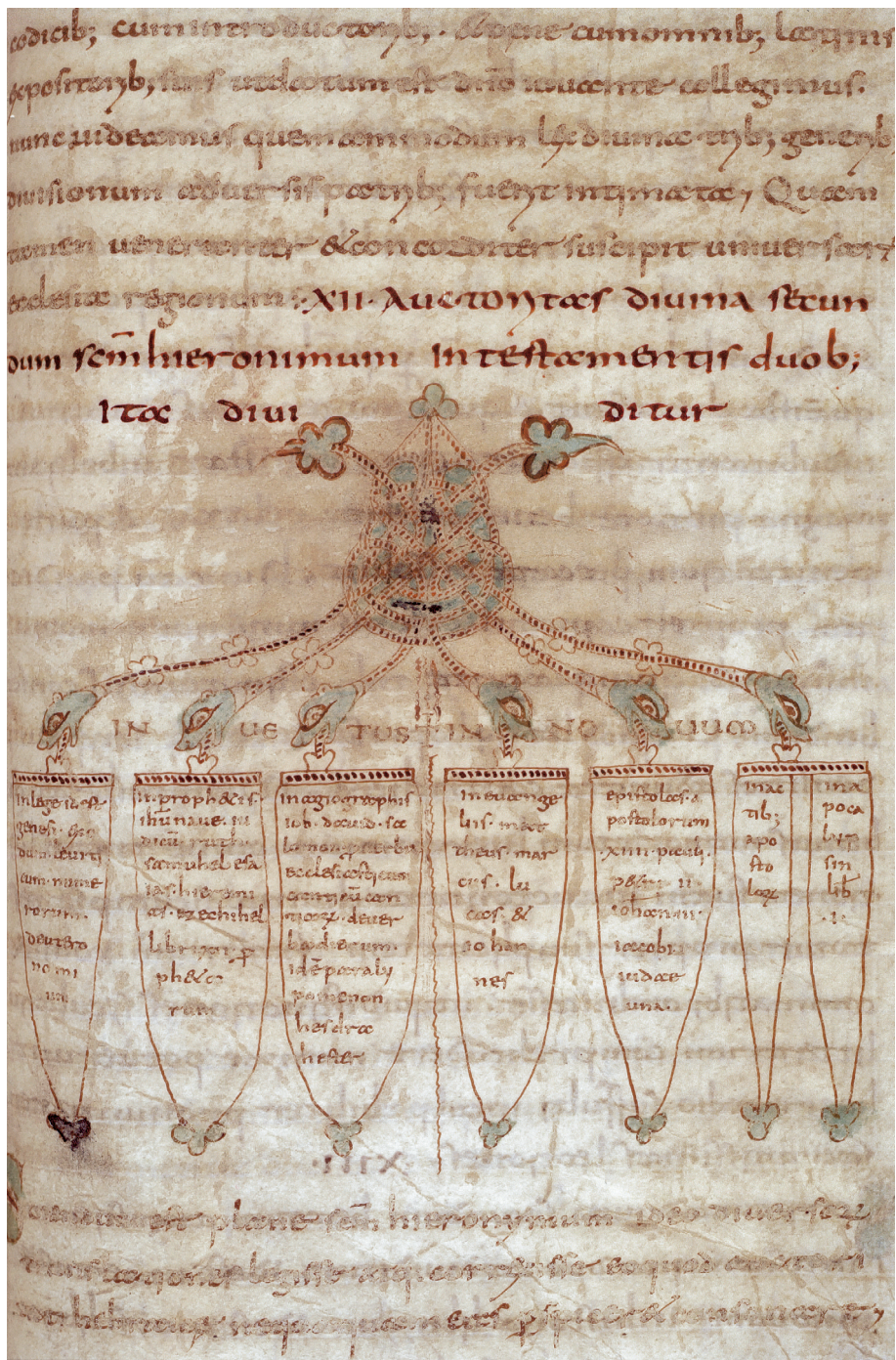


Plate 1. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 660, fol. 92^r, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* I, chapter 12, organization of scripture according to Jerome.

